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MALANKA THROUGH THE BACK DOOR: UKRAINIAN NEW YEAR'S EVE CELEBRATION IN EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA

BY

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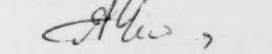

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled MALANKA THROUGH THE BACK DOOR: UKRAINIAN NEW YEAR'S EVE CELEBRATION IN EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA submitted by Andriy Chernevych in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Ukrainian Folklore.

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Abstract

Malanka stands for Ukrainian New Year Eve's feast – one of the most popular calendar community celebrations of Ukrainians in Alberta. The name of the celebration comes from the folk custom of Malanka, which was brought to Canada by the first Ukrainian immigrants. This study is both diachronic and synchronic: on the one hand it attempts to outline the historical evolution of the custom in Alberta (chapter 1), on the other hand, it concentrates on the contemporary state of tradition in Edmonton (chapters 2-4).

During the decades of Ukrainian settlement the new environment and social context caused significant changes in the form and meaning of the custom. House visits evolved into community gatherings, social functions also changed. The urban version of the Malanka celebration is a product of cultural revival and an interesting example of modern ritual, which reflects the contemporary cultural dynamics of the Ukrainian community – a re-interpretation of the cultural heritage and a search for new expressions of ethnic identity.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER 1 7

THE MALANKA TRADITION IN EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA 7

CHAPTER 2 26

MALANKA: STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE EVENT 26

- GUESTS 29
- DRESS 31
- CHOIR AND DANCE PERFORMANCE 32
- SOCIAL DANCE 36
- KOLOMYIKA 38
- FACILITY DECORATIONS 40
- GAMES AND RITUALS 41
- LANGUAGE 45
- DINNER 47

CHAPTER 3 49

THE MALANKA SHOW: TRADITION AND INNOVATION 49

CHAPTER 4: 73

MALANKA AS A VENTURE: ORGANIZATIONAL ROUTINES 73

CONCLUSIONS 79

BIBLIOGRAPHY 81

APPENDIX A: LIST OF INTERVIEWS 87

APPENDIX B: LIST OF VIDEO RECORDINGS OF MALANKA 2001 PROJECT 88

APPENDIX C: QUESTIONNAIRE 89

APPENDIX D: TABLE OF ACTIVITIES – MALANKA CELEBRATIONS IN EDMONTON. 91

List of Tables

Table 1. Comparative Use of English and Ukrainian Language at Malanka.....46

Table 2. The Balance Sheet 2001: Malanka at the Ukrainian Centre.....76

List of Figures

Figure 1. Winter Cycle: New Year's Customs. The map shows the distribution of the Malanka custom in the area of east central Alberta. [taken from B. Klymasz *Sviato*, appendix D) 8

Figure 2. Ukrainian New Year's eve customs Koza and Malanka. [Taken from Kurochkin, *Ukrainski novorichni obriady*, 337] 9

Figure 3. A group of Malanka mummers near Calder, Alberta, 1920-30s. Courtesy of Maureen Stefaniuk 12

Figure 4. Structural elements of the modern Malanka celebration in Edmonton 26

Figure 5. Guests at the table. Malanka at St. Andrew's church 30

Figure 6. A choir performs Ukrainian carols. Malanka at St. Johns 33

Figure 7. Hopak performed by Ukrainian dancers during Malanka at St. Michael's parish hall 34

Figure 8. Zorianka dancers perform at the West Edmonton Mall 35

Figure 9. Couple dance. Malanka at St. Andrew's 36

Figure 10. Kolomyika at the Malanka in St. Michael, Alberta 38

Figure 11. Stage decorated for Malanka. St. Michael's parish hall 40

Figure 12. Hospodar and Hospodynia of the Malanka at St. John's 42

Figure 13. Burning the *didukh* at the Hromada's Malanka 43

Figure 14. Preparing the smorg table. Malanka at Radway 47

Figure 15. Malanka Stewart and Vasyl. The Malanka show at St. Andrew's 55

Figure 16. Malanka characters pose for picture: Horse, Gypsies, Did Moroz. The Malanka at St. John's 58

Figure 17. From left to right: Engineer, Jew, Horse, musician, Musician-Jew, another musician, Policeman. Malanka in St. Michael, Alberta 67

Figure 18. Malanka dance. Radway, Alberta 68

Introduction

Malanka stands for the Ukrainian New Year Eve's feast – one of the most popular calendrical community celebrations of Ukrainians in Alberta. The name of the celebration comes from the folk custom of Malanka, which was brought to Canada by the first Ukrainian immigrants.

The research was primarily inspired by the *Malanka 2001* project that was conducted by scholars of Huculak Chair of Ukrainian Culture and Ethnography and graduate students involved in Ukrainian Folklore Program. The project involved documentation of sixteen Malankas in Edmonton and area. The purpose of the project was to "capture a synchronic snapshot" revealing the state of the tradition on the year 2001.

The use of the term "folk" in this paper needs some clarification. According to a classical definition the term refers to traditional culture and is usually defined as being anonymous, traditional, orally transmitted and variable.[1] Today some scholars use the term "folk" as a broader category, which includes a variety of contemporary cultural phenomena.[2] Since in this study my focus shifts from peasant society to the contemporary context, I reserve the term "folk" for reference to the traditional peasant culture only.

The folk custom of Malanka implies ritual mummery and folk drama, which traditionally take place in Ukrainian villages at New Year's eve. The custom is part of winter cycle festivities and as such it is closely related to such calendar customs as

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[1] Jan Harold Brunvand, *The Study of American Folklore* (New York – London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978), 3.
[2] Richard Bauman, "Folklore," in *Folklore, Cultural Performances and Popular Entertainments*, edited by R. Bauman (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 29-40.

Christmas carolling and *Vertep* drama.[3] The identifying feature of the custom is the leading cross-dressed personage called "Malanka" (female name) - the presence of this character typologically separates it from another form of ritual mummery called *Koza* (Goat). The custom of Malanka is known through regions of western and central Ukraine.

On a broader scale the Ukrainian Malanka is part of the European folk tradition of mummery, which tend to concentrate around the pre-Lenten period and Christmas time. As for New Year's eve, similar calendar customs are known to peoples across Europe. In particular, at that time house visits take place in villages in some regions of Germany;[4] in England there is the so called "wassailing" custom.[5] In the neighbouring countries of Poland and especially Romania the customs of Christmas mumming resemble the Ukrainian variant very closely. In Romania the custom is called "Copra" (Goat), in some localities the personage called "Malanca" is known.[6]

Many of those traditions were brought to the New World by European settlers and rooted in the new soil. In Canada the best known custom involving dressed up characters is the Newfoundland tradition of Christmas mummery. This tradition has been researched by a number of folklore scholars from Memorial University.[7]

Ukrainian folk customs in Canada, as other immigrant folk traditions, followed the pattern of continuity and change over time. Some calendar traditions became

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[3] Olena Plokhii, "Ukrainian Christmas in Canada: Food, Tradition, Customs." Master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1996; Ievgen Markovs'kyi, *Ukrains'kyi vertep: rozvidky i teksty* [Ukrainian vertep: research and texts] (Kiev, 1929).

[4] Jennifer M. Russ, *German Festivals and Customs* (London: Oswald Wolff, 1983), 34-36.

[5] A. R. Wright, *British Calendar Customs* (London-Glasgow: Folk-lore society, 1940), 189.

[6] N. Jula, *Traditii si obiceiuri românesti: anul nou în Moldova si Bucovina* [Romanian traditions and customs: New Year in Moldova and Bukovyna] (Bucuresti: Editura Pentru Literatura, 1968); Barbara Ogrodowska,. *Swieta Polskie: tradycja, obyczaj* [Polish holidays: traditions and customs] (Warszawa: ALFA, 1996), 80-89.

[7] Herbert Halpert, and G.M. Story eds., *Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969).

irrelevant in the new context and faded away, while some others remained prominent. Numerous traditions closely associated with church fall into the second category: Easter (Ukrainian Easter eggs (*pysanky*) writing, food blessing culture etc.) and Christmas (family supper tradition). Although the celebration of Malanka is a more secular tradition, it also stems from a religious holiday.

In Soviet Ukraine, the historical evolution of Malanka was partly influenced by political manipulations. Attempts to construct new Soviet rituals were made on the basis of folk rituals. In particular, Malanka was subject to innovations.[8] In today's Ukraine the tradition of village carnival has been revived.[9]

The Malanka is a very popular contemporary community event among Ukrainians far beyond Alberta – all the major Canadian cities with large Ukrainian communities have their own local traditions of Malanka, this tradition is known in the United States and Australia as well.[10]

In this project I attempt to analyze the celebration from various angles. Chapter one is a brief historical survey, which allows us to see how the folk custom of Malanka was transplanted to Canadian soil by the early Ukrainian immigrants and to trace its subsequent adaptation to the new environment. In the second chapter we shift our attention to ten specific Malanka celebrations that took place in Edmonton in 2001 and 2002. This chapter involves a structural analysis of the overall event with such aspects as the choral and dance performance, social dance and audience stratification. This analysis

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[8] Nikolai Zakovych, *Sviata kalendarnoho tsyklu* [Calendar celebrations] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1971), 70-75; A.S. Mazan'ko, ed., *Bukovyns'ki vinochki: novi obriady ta zvychai* [Bukovynian wreaths: new rituals and customs] (Uzhhorod: Karpaty, 1966), 67-80.

[9] http://iprinet.kiev.ua/wumag/archiv/1_2000/malanka.htm

[10] http://www.ukrainianmuseum.org/news_malanka2001.html
http://www.ozeukes.com/guestbook.htm

allows comparative study of various elements of individual celebrations. In chapter three, special attention is given to the Malanka skit as the central reference to the folk custom of Malanka. The choices made by the skit organizers show remarkable creativity in interpretation of the cultural heritage. The fourth chapter will be devoted to the organizational efforts – fundraising activities, advertising strategies, volunteer labor – all those things that make such a large-scale annual project possible and financially viable. Throughout the study I am interested in the unique set of social functions related to this custom/tradition.

In this thesis I make an attempt to balance the description of the form and context and interpretation based on theoretical models like "continuity and change," "invented traditions" and "cultural revival," anthropological concept of "social functions."

The research involves the use of video and photo materials of the *Malanka 2001* project. In order to complement those materials, my own fieldwork included a series of personal interviews with sixteen persons who were directly involved in the organization of the events. I make an attempt to see the contemporary Malanka through the eyes of the organizers: it is their knowledge, values and understanding of the tradition that I am primarily interested in. For the purpose of interviewing, a questionnaire was used (see appendix C). Each interview, however, covered only part of the questions according to the interviewee's field of expertise in the subject. In general, the interviews were unstructured and had a form of conversation: the approach made the informants comfortable and allowed for new relevant topics to come out in the process of the interview.

The folk custom of Malanka is described in various publications, both in Ukraine and Canada. They include specific ethnographic accounts, some of them dating back to the nineteenth century, general studies of Ukrainian calendar traditions and popular overviews of Ukrainian customs. [11]

Some important publications can be discussed individually.

Olexa Voropai's two-volume work is dedicated to Ukrainian folk calendar celebrations.[12] The author had been collecting the material for 10 years: 1937 –1943 – in Ukraine, then in Germany among the inhabitants of the camps for displaced persons. He made use of some scholarly literature on the topic, although the book is rather more descriptive than theoretical. As for Malanka the reader can find a description of the house visit, songs, texts and indications of other folk customs and beliefs associated with New Year's Eve. Written in easy-to-read narrative style, the book is one of the most popular reference materials on Ukrainian customs in Canada.

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[11] Pavlo Chubyns'kyi, *Mudrist' vikiv: ukraïns'ke narodoznavstvo u tvorchii spadshchyni Pavla Chubyns'koho* [Wisdom of centuries: Ukrainian folklore in Pavlo Chubyns'kyi's heritage], (Kyïv: Mystetstvo, 1995); Oleksii Dei, comp. *Koliadky ta shchedrivky* [Carols and shchedrivky], (Kyïv: Naukova dumka, 1965); Oleksii Dei, and Maksym Ryl's'kyi, comps. *Ihry ta pisni* [Games and songs], (Kyiv: Instytut mystetstvoznavstva, fol'kloru ta etnohrafiï AN URSR, 1963); Iakiv Holovats'kyi, comp., *Narodnyia piesni Galitskoi i Ugorskoi Rusi* [Folksongs of the Galician and Hungarian Rus], (Moscow, 1872); K. M. Kutel'makh, "Obriadovist' zymovoho tsyklu" [Winter cycle rituals], in *Ukrains'ke narodoznavstvo* (Lviv: Feniks, 1994); "Malanka," in *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, edited by D. H. Struk (Toronto-Buffalo-London: University of Toronto Press, 1993); "Malanka," in *Ukrains'ka mala entsiklopedia* [Small Ukrainian encyclopedia], edited by Ie. Onats'kyi, (Buenos Aires, 1959), 899; Anne Marechko-Sochan, "Continuity and Change: An Inter-Generational Examination of Ukrainian Christmas Observances in East Central Alberta," master's thesis (University of Alberta, 1992), 159-63, 236, 321-6; Mykola Markevych, "Obychai, pover'ia, kukhnia i napitki malorossian" [Customs, beliefs, cuisine and drinks of malorossians=Ukrainians], 1860, reprinted in *Ukraintsi: narodni viruvannia, povir'ia, demonolohia* [Ukrainians: folk beliefs, legends and demonology], edited by A. P. Ponomariov et. al. (Kyiv: Lybid', 1992), 104-105; Zakhar Moroz, *Na pozytsiiakh narodnosti* [On the populist positions] (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1971), 24-25; Rudnyckyj, Jaroslav B, *Readings in Ukrainian folklore* (Winnipeg: The University of Manitoba Press, 1958), 55; Volodymyr Shukhevych, *Hutsul'shchyna* [Hutsul region], (Lviv: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 1904); Vasyl' Skurativs'kyi, *Didukh* (Kyiv: Osvita, 1995); Vasyl' Skurativs'kyi, *Sviatki* (Kyiv: Ukrainoznavstvo, 1995), 17-31; *Trudy etnograficheskо-statisticheskoi ekspeditsii v Zapadno-Russkii krai* [Works of the ethnographic-statistical expedition to the Western-Russian region=Ukraine], (Peterburg: Imp. russkoe geogr. ob-vo, 1872), 437-82.

[12] Oleksa Voropai, *Zvychai nashoho narodu* [Customs of our people], vol.2 (Munich: Ukrains'ke vydavnytstvo, 1958), 141-147.

Another well-known work was written by Stepan Kylymnyk.[13] Compared to the previously discussed book it is rather an analytical study. The publication consists of five volumes that cover the whole Ukrainian folk calendar cycle. The greatest part of the material was collected by the author prior to the first World War. Kylymnyk not only gives extensive description of the customs but also tries to interpret them and trace their relationship to the system of pre-Christian beliefs. The author's approach is similar to the mythological school of folklore, which was dominant in the nineteenth century at the period of European Romanticism.

A study by Oleksandr Kurochkin is specifically dedicated to the customs of *Koza* and Malanka as part of the New Year' Eve folk celebrations in villages of Ukraine.[14] The author provides a rich structural and semantic analysis based on ethnographic material collected in the 1970s, mostly in villages of Bukovyna.

The evolution of this custom among Ukrainian settlers in Canada has received little scholarly attention so far. An article dedicated to Malanka tradition, by Robert Klymasz, one of the most influential scholars in the field of Ukrainian-Canadian folklore, can be regarded as the only specific contribution to the subject. The author focuses primarily on the first decades of the century (1890-1930) when house-to-house mummery was still practiced among the settlers.[15]

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[13] Stepan Kylymnyk, *Ukrains'kyi rik u narodnikh zvychaiakh v istorychnomu osvitlenni* [The Ukrainian year in Ukrainian customs in historical perspective], vol. 1(Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1955), 88-98.
[14] Oleksandr Kurochkin, *Ukrains'ki novorichni obriady: "koza" i "Malanka" : z istorii narodnykh masok* [Ukrainian New Year rituals: "goat" and "Malanka": from the history of folk masks], (Opishne: Ukrains'ke narodoznavstvo, 1995).
[15] Robert B. Klymasz, "*'Malanka':* Ukrainian Mummery on the Prairies," *Canadian Folk Music Journal* 13, 1985, 32-37.

Chapter 1

THE MALANKA TRADITION IN EAST CENTRAL ALBERTA

The name "Malanka" refers to the religious feast of St. Melania, which is the occasion for folk festivities that takes place in villages in Ukraine on New Year's Eve.[16] In its nineteenth century forms Malanka involved house to house mummery - the custom combined merry-making, courtship and magic-religious rituals, in particular fortune-telling and agricultural magic.

A group of young men dressed up as comical characters (a girl called Malanka, Goat, Old Man and other characters) toured noisily from house to house, particularly to those houses with unmarried girls. They asked to be let in to sing praising carols (*shchedrivky*) and recite verses blessing the family and its household. Once in the house, Malanka and "her" comical "escort" caused a commotion and laughter, danced and played comical scenes. The visitors collected food (either as gifts or by trickery) that was to be shared at their party later that night. In some localities, the performers played a short skit, according to which Malanka (or Goat) fell ill or died, only to be revived later by some magical means. The festivities started after the supper on New Year's Eve and continued until well after midnight.[17]

It is important to note that the word "Malanka" has several layers of meaning: it is the name of the main character of the mummery, a girl; it is the custom of mummery itself; it is also the performance or skit played by the mummers; finally, it is the New Year's Eve celebration as such.

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[16] December 31 on the Julian calendar occurs thirteen days later than the more widespread Gregorian calendar and this day falls on January 13.

[17] Oleksandr Kurochkin, "Malanka," in *Ukrains'ka mynuvshchyna: iliustrovanyi etnohrafichnyi dovidnyk* (Kyiv: Lybid', 1993); K. Kutel'makh, "Obriadovist' zymovoho tsyklu," in *Ukrains'ke Narodoznavstvo* (Lviv: Feniks, 1994).

The first wave of Ukrainian immigration to Canada took place between 1891 and 1914. In the twenties a number of new immigrants arrived. By 1924 over 200,000 Ukrainians had come, mostly to the territory of three western provinces – Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. In east central Alberta the largest Ukrainian bloc settlement was formed. The newcomers were mostly peasants from Galicia and Bukovyna – the Ukrainian populated provinces of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[18]

As some pioneer memories suggest, the many traditional customs were not practiced at the initial period of homesteading – more urgent tasks of survival and the scarce population sometimes precluded even basic communication. Anne Marechko-Sochan notes that at that period the traditional Ukrainian two-part celebratory period of New Year (New Year's Eve – Malanka) and New Year's Day – Vasylia (St. Basil) essentially involved preparations for the observance of New Year's Day alone.[19] However, over time

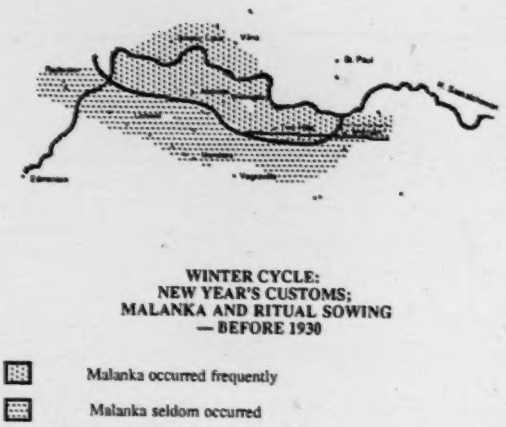

Figure 1. Winter Cycle: New Year's Customs. The map shows the distribution of the Malanka custom in the area of east central Alberta. [Taken from Klymasz *Svieto*, appendix 3]

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[18] Orest T. Martynowych, *The Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period (1891-1924)* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1984), 59-70; Jaroslav Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land : Canada and the Ukrainians (1891- 1914)* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1985), 9-26.

[19] Anne Marechko-Sochan, "Continuity and Change: An Inter-generational Examination of Ukrainian Christmas Observances in East Central Alberta," Master's thesis (University of Alberta, 1992), 236.

in the Ukrainian compact settlement in east central Alberta, the Malanka, along with carolling and other calendar traditions, became part of the new community's life.

In a book dedicated to the early immigrants' folklore, Klymasz calls *Malanka* a "strikingly original Bukovynian custom."[20] The maps of custom distribution (figure 1) provided in the book and interview abstracts show that the area of the *Malanka* custom almost coincides with the zone of Bukovynian settlement, around such centres as Smoky Lake, Wostok, Two Hills, Andrew, Vilna and Willingdon.

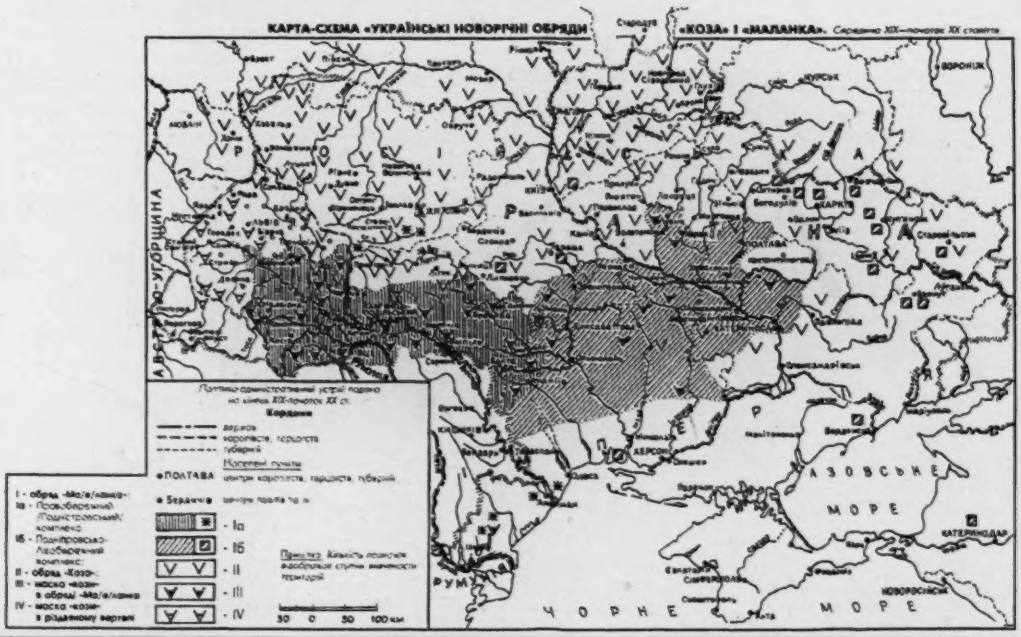

Figure 2. Ukrainian New Year's eve customs Koza and Malanka. The lined area shows the territory where Malanka was practiced as a folk calendar custom: 1A and 1B zones (mid 19th century – beginning of 20th century). The triangle marks show the distribution of Koza custom. The bold dotted line separates the territories of Russian Empire and Habsburg Monarchy. [Taken from Kurochkin, *Ukrainski novorichni obriady*, 337].

The idea of mostly Bukovynian origin of the custom is partly supported by Kurochkin's study – he publishes a map (figure 2), which illustrates distribution of the

Malanka custom at the beginning of the twentieth century, clearly indicating that on the territory of Western Ukraine, Malanka was practiced in Bukovyna and also in the adjacent part of Galicia to the north.

Therefore Malanka was a regional custom that was brought to Canada by certain groups of Ukrainian settlers, and in earlier times it was practiced mostly in the northern part of the Ukrainian bloc settlement, predominantly populated by immigrants from Bukovyna.

The history of the folk custom in the earlier decades of the settlement in Canadian praries reflects how Ukrainian traditional culture gradually adjusted to the new cultural and social environment. The study of this transition poses some serious problems for researcher. While the history of contemporary variations of *Malanka* can be reconstructed on the basis of personal interviews and various documents, the earlier history of *Malanka* in Canada (the period before and shortly after World War II) remains a shadow zone. Nowadays there are relatively few left who can share memories of those times, while written sources are scarce and fragmented.

Among the most valuable sources are materials collected by Robert Klymasz in the course of his large-scale field-work "Folklore in East Central Alberta" in the area in the eighties.[21] The research concentrates on the first immigrants' culture, the period between 1890 and 1930. The questionnaire covers various folk customs and traditions including a few questions about Malanka. Klymasz shows interest in both the formal

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[20] Robert B. Klymasz, *Svieto: Celebrating Ukrainian-Canadian Ritual in East Central Alberta through the Generations* (Edmonton: Historic Sites and Archives Service, 1992), 169.

[21] The project was conducted on behalf of the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village. The materials contain information collected in 1984 from 102 informants throughout east central Alberta in the form of personal interviews recorded on audiocassettes. 32 of those interviews were published in the author's book "*Svieto,*" the rest are in possession of the Historical Site Service's collection in Edmonton.

aspects and meaning of the custom: the time of celebration, costumes, gender issues and the motivation of the participants.

Another source is a study by Anne Marechko-Sochan on Christmas season celebrations of Ukrainians in east central Alberta. The work includes multiple references to fieldwork interviews and provides interesting details on how the Malanka was celebrated at the early period of settlement.

Those informants who could remember the custom referred to it as "Malanka *khodyla/ huliala*" (Malanka went around/ danced), "*malankuvaly*" (verb derivative from Malanka), "*robyly Malanku*" (made Malanka). Most often people remembered house visits of their neighbours and people who lived in the area; some informants took part in the travelling procession as dressed up characters.[22] Those that participated remembered that, because of the distances, they could make no more than two-three visits a day, and they sometimes had to stay overnight in the houses they visited – the guests were laid on straw mattresses.[23]

The Malanka performance, as a venture organized mostly by younger people, served as an opportunity for courting. This function of Malanka was analyzed by Robert Klymasz on Ukrainian-Canadian pioneer material. Klymasz notes that Malanka groups, comprised of young bachelors, made special effort to visit houses with unmarried girls.

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[22] The descriptions of the early Malanka custom is based on interviews conducted by Robert Klymasz with the following individuals: Katherine Orlecki, Barbara Babych, Antonia Basistiuk, Bennie Chekerda, William Demchuk, Vera Eliuk, John Elkow, Bill Ewoniak, Mary Fedoruk, Helena Gawryluk, Nick Gelech, Annie Hotsman, Celina Johnson, Kost Kachuk, Mary Kachuk, Metro Kostash, Stefan Kunyk, Teresa Kutash, John Lewak, Rosie Lisiewich, Anna Martyniak, Maria Marusiak, Katyryna Mayowski, Magdalena Melnyk, Dorothy Orshinsky, Peter Orshinsky, Catherine Palahniuk, George Pawluk, Nancy Samoil, Elizabeth Sawchuk, Annie Shydlowski, Mary Stelmaschuk, Georgina Tomyn, Anna Tchir, Domka Werezuk, Ewdokia Woytkiw, Jack Youzwyshyn, Mariia Youzwyshyn. Additional information was taken from Anne Marechko-Sochan's study.

[23] Interview with Dorothy Orshinsky, by R. Klymasz.

The carnival atmosphere created a suitable situation for mutual evaluation, flirting and unofficial match-making.[24]

The full complement of Malanka characters included a Malanka girl, Bear, Gypsy (male and female), Priest, Jew, Jewess, Goat, Horse, Policeman, Devil, Gendarme, Minstrel, Old Couple, Bride, Groom and others. The cast of performers varied in each case, depending on the size of the group and other factors, most often groups comprised of 4-8 people (figure 3).

Once in the house the characters engaged in various activities: they played musical instruments (flute, violin, *tsymbaly*), danced, but most notably the characters were remembered for their mischievous behavior and the tricks they played, which often involved causing damage in the home. For example, somebody could secretly soil a wall and, when questioned, answer that it was Malanka who did it;[25] the Old Couple would battle each other and look for things to steal in the house; some of the characters like the Old Man would chase the womenfolk; *Chort* tried to blacken women with its sooty

Figure 3. A group of Malanka mummers near Calder, Alberta, 1920-30s. Courtesy of Maureen Stefaniuk.

[24] Robert B. Klymasz, "'Malanka': Ukrainian Mummery on the Prairies," *Canadian Folk Music Journal* 13 (1985): 33.
[25] Interview with Ewdokia Woytkiw, by R. Klymasz.

hands, while the belligerent Goat would attack with its horns.[26] Another activity that reportedly took place during the visit was a mock wedding performed by the Bride, Groom and the Priest.[27]

Peoples' perception and reaction to the performance varied. Those of the hosts who were well acquainted with the custom found it hilarious – the characters' behaviour was most often referred as *shtuky* (tricks, jokes) or *zbytky* (mischief). Other people, especially those who were not familiar with the tradition in the Old Country, found this behaviour strange and rude.[28] The idea behind the visit was to bring the new year in with humour and laughter. The event itself was anticipated and appreciated by most of the families visited.[29]

In some cases the characters were reported to collect money, other informants remembered that they collected food and drinks only. Barbara Babych remembers the beginning of a Malanka song:

Ivane, Ivanochko,	[Oh, Ivan, little Ivan]
Pusty do khaty Malanochku (2)	[Let little Malanka to the house]
Nasha Malanka gospodynia,	[Our Malanka is a good house keeper]
Iak isty zvaryt, tak I pomyie (2)	[She will cook and clean the dishes]
Nasha Malanka "Gristnom" plyla,	[Our Malanka went by Gristnom(?)]
Bilyi fartukh fartushok zamochyla (2)	[And soaked her white apron]
Povii vitre ia z Onuchy,	[Blow the wind from Onuchy (?)]
Vysushy fartukh iak v odnochy (?)	[Dry the apron quickly (?)]

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[26] Interviews with Barbara Babych, George Pawluk by R. Klymasz.
[27] Interview with Barbara Babych by R. Klymasz.
[28] Interview with Elizabeth Sawchuk by R. Klymasz.
[29] Marechko-Sochan, 325.

Povii vitre ia z zakhodu, [Blow wind from West…][30]

Some verses of this song are identical to the variant provided by Kolberg in his ethnographic study.[31]

It should be mentioned that another ethnic group in east central Alberta, Romanians, had a custom very similar to Malanka. In fact in the area of Shalka-Boiany, Romanian and Bukovynian settlers cooperated in these festivities. The descriptions mention the same groups of characters and a similar style of house visit.[32] The custom was still referred as "Malanka," although, according to one of the informants, the Romanians themselves called it "to go with a horse."[33] Indeed the horse was mentioned in every account of Romanian custom – whether it was a character or merely a wooden hobby-horse for a "rider." This similarity of the traditions reflects cultural closeness of these two ethnic groups and their mutual influences – neighbours in the Bukovyna, they tended to settle nearby in east central Alberta as well.

Some accounts give examples of "consolidation" among Christmas traditions and Malanka: a house visit that featured a young man dressed as a woman on the one hand and King Herod, one of key characters of the Nativity play, on the other (the visit took place two-three days after Christmas).[34]

The custom of traveling from house to house with Malanka virtually faded out by the time of World War II. Robert Klymasz suggests the following reasons for this. The first reason was the challenge of long distances caused by the structure of the settlements. The neighbour farms were usually miles away so traveling mummery was connected with

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[30] Interview with Barbara Babych, by R. Klymasz.
[31] Oskar Kolberg, *Pokucie*, vol. 4, 1882. (reprinted Warszawa: Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1962), 122-123.
[32] Interviews with Teresa Kutash, Mary Kachuk, Mary Fedoruk and Maria Marusiak, by R. Klymasz.

many difficulties compounded by the unpredictable weather. In Ukraine, by contrast, the mummers had to walk only metres from house to house in their village.

Another challenge to the traditional Malanka was posed by Christmas carolling - as these two Ukrainian customs became consolidated in favour of the latter. Klymasz notes that Christmas carolling became more popular since it allowed for the same courting function as Malanka but without the unwieldy disguises and extra commotion. Besides that, Malanka characters were a reflection of the Old Country village – and many characters were irrelevant in the New World, even underlining the backwardness of the traditional life-ways. Klymasz also adds that Christmas carolling was sanctioned and promoted by the early Ukrainian farm community as a method for collecting money for the construction of a local church. The last detail in favour of carolling was that it could be practiced by both genders, not only by the boys. Klymasz suggests that due to these advantages the carolling tradition "supplanted" *Malanka*, which lead to the Malanka's gradual demise.[35]

However, the result of these challenges was not the demise of the tradition, but its transformation. The house visits, which proved to be an ineffective way of celebrating and socializing, were replaced by centralized activities. According to Morris Wenger, before the local community hall was built in the twenties, the celebration used to be held on individual farms. The neighbors hosted it in turns in a *shpehlir* (granary) - by this time of year the crops were already sold and the structure allowed floor space for number of

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[33] Interview with Mary Kachuk, by R. Klymasz.
[34] Interview with Nancy Samoil, by R. Klymasz.
[35] Robert B. Klymasz, *'Malanka'*, 36.

guests. One of Klymasz's informants mentions the same manner of rotation in hosting other winter holidays.[36]

The consolidation of Malanka as a community event came with proliferation of community halls in the east central Alberta in the 1920s.[37] These institutions became centres of social life – political meetings, educational activities, dances and amateur performances took place there.

Not enough is known about Malanka celebrations in the halls. According to people's memories, which date back to the forties, at that time, the Malanka celebration was already a community party (*zabava*) with drinks; the dressed characters (or mummers) usually arrived at some point during the evening and staged a performance or skit.[38] The skit was played on the stage. Many halls had a generic village landscape painting on the background. The informants distinctly remembered many of the characters mentioned above – the girl named Malanka, animal figures, the Jew, the Gypsy etc. The costuming and the props were, according to Paul Sembaliuk, "crudely made" – they were part of what was called the "*garderoba,*" the hall's collection of costumes and props for amateur drama, which included a buffalo coat for the Bear and an old Austrian uniform and a rifle for the Policeman. Mr. Wenger remembers that, for this occasion, the hall was decorated with sheaves of wheat, barley and oats, which were put in the corners. The social dance followed the rules of that time – men grouped near one wall, women grouped near the opposite one; men invited women as they crossed the

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[36] Interview with Celina Johnson, by R. Klymasz.

[37] Most of the community halls in the area were erected between 1914 and 1928, 18 - in east central Alberta. Orest T. Martynowych, *The Ukrainian Bloc Settlement in East Central Alberta, 1890-1930: A History* (Historic Sites and Archives Service, 1985), 288.

[38] Interviews with Paul Sembaliuk, by A.Chernevych, Morris Wenger, by A.Chernevych and Mariia Youzwyshyn, by R. Klymasz.

floor. There was no special entertainment for children – they were kept busy so that they did not interfere with adults: they were allowed to play behind the stage or were encouraged to look for candies hidden in the sheaves.[39]

The hall celebrations of Malanka caused some centralization and unification of the custom – people stopped going to their neighbors' farms but instead went to the nearest community hall for the social gathering and dance there.

The description above it is merely a general schema of the development – in reality things were not that uniform: in some areas the custom was simply abandoned, in some other cases different forms chronologically coincided. One of the informants remembered that "Malanka was nicer in town (Vilna) because they danced in the hall." Social prestige and innovations have their influence on the modification of Ukrainian traditional customs.

There is not much information on how many communities sustained the tradition in the 1940s and 1950s.

Malanka seemed to be re-discovered in the early seventies with the ethnic revival movement and consequent introduction of the multiculturalism policy by the Canadian government. At that time the resurgence of interest in roots, ethnicity and traditional culture was not exclusive to Ukrainians but to many others minorities in Canada.[40] The Edmonton Heritage Festival, one of the largest multicultural festivals in Canada, dates back to these years. As for the Ukrainian community in Alberta this was the time when many cultural traditions and symbols were initiated – the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage

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[39] Interview with Morris Wenger.

Village, the Ukrainian Pysanka Festival in Vegreville , the Pysanka Monument and others.

On January 13, 1973, a few active community members, inspired by professor Metro Gulutsan, the founder of the East European Studies society, hosted what may have been the first modern Malanka celebration in Edmonton.[41]

The preparation was delegated to the Malanka committee members: Paul Sembaliuk and his family were responsible for interior design, Zenia Hawrysh – for the dinner, Gene Zwozdesky and Bohdan Yereniuk were the artistic coordinators for the Malanka skit, Lina Gulutsan and her sister assisted with research on the Malanka tradition.

The purpose of the event, according to Lena Gulutsan, was "to let the younger people, second or third, generations of Ukrainians, get in touch with their ancient culture."[42] Their approach had two major emphasis: authenticity, reflected in painstaking attention to the traditional culture, and aesthetic beauty, which would capture the imagination of the guests.

The hall was decorated with great attention to detail: among the decorations were traditional pattern designs of silk, embroidered towels, paintings and fir-tree branches; on the tables there were miniature ritual breads, with a lit candles inside and wheat plants

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[40] Augie Fleras, *Engaging Diversity: Multiculturalism in Canada* (Toronto: Nelson Thomson Learning, 2002).

[41] The claim that 1973 Faculty Club's Malanka was the first of its kind (see Lena Gulutsan "Persha Malanka v Al'berts'komu universyteti," in *Zakhidn'okanads'kyi zbirnyk*, vol.4, (Edmonton, Kanads'ke naukove tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, 2001), 401) should remain open: Paul Sembaliuk, one of the organizers, noted that two years before a special concert was dedicated to the New Year's Eve in St. John's Cathedral, and year before a private celebration was organized by Metro Gulutsan (personal interview with Paul Sembaliuk, June 11, 2002). Lena Gulutsan accepts that there had been some events called 'Malanka' even before the Faculty Club, but notes that those were regular *zabavy* – community gatherings with nothing more than dinner and social dance (interview with Lena Gulutsan and Anna Zwozdesky).

[42] Lena Gulutsan, "Persha Malanka,"149.

around each one. The menu was prepared under the supervision of Zenia Hawrysh, a specialist in home economics, and featured a variety of Ukrainian dishes.

At the entrance, the guests were met by the master (*hospodar*) himself – Mr. Gulutsan was dressed in a traditional Bukovynian long shirt with embroidered collar, sash and traditional peasant footwear. The cocktail table was decorated with a *didukh* (sheaf of wheat) and three ritual breads put on top of each other. Every guest's place was set with a brochure with explanations on the holiday and the menu.

The dinner started with singing *Boh Predvichnyi*, a Ukrainian Christmas carol. During the dinner an orchestra played, and later a Ukrainian dance group performed. Meanwhile, at the tables, the guests were entertained by a violinist; ritual sowing accompanied by magical formulas took place, and a Gypsy went around telling fortunes.

At eleven the Malanka procession, dressed characters with masks leaded by Malanka and Vasyl, came to the hall. A humorous story unfolded - Vasyl looked for his lost goat and accused Bear of stealing it; later it turned out that Goat had chewed his neighbour's trousers and the farmer claimed damages by calling Vasyl to court; a mock court trial followed… After the show Malanka danced with the guests for a while and near midnight the characters left the floor. A figure symbolizing the New Year came and proclaimed New Year wishes. After that a *kolomyika* dance followed. Later the people made a circle and sang the Ukrainian song "*De zhoda v rodyni*" and "*Auld Lang Syne*" for the non-Ukrainians.[43]

In addition to the description of the evening Mrs. Gulutsan provided some explanations about the characters involved in the "skit" - the masked performance. She

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[43] The Malanka tradition in the Faculty Club was held annually until the year 2000.

said that the Malanka girl is the character represented spring and revival and swept out the old year. Mrs. Gulutsan explained that, among other materials, she based her research report on the well-known works of Stepan Kylymnyk and Oleksa Voropai. The following is Mrs. Gulutsan's summary of the meaning of Malanka festivities and its characters:

> The Great God [*Shchedryi Boh*], before the Christian times, had a daughter, which was on Mother Earth, called Lada. Lada had a daughter, which name meant "spring", "fancy" – Vesna, Maiana, and from this the name "Malanka" was derived, because the daughter was very beautiful – *myla,* Melania, she was in charge of spring. Lado's son was the Moon, called Cherchyk, Vasyl'chyk, Vasyl – they always were together, they were married, Vasyl always protects Malanka. Vasyl and Malanka are very active at New Year's Eve. The Mother Earth, Lada, has the power to call upon the spirits of her helpers, they all come alive at that time – the spirits are found in a horse, cow, bear, goat and they work together with Malanka and Vasyl. All gets revived at that time. People dress up on New Year's Eve symbolizing these spirits. The carnival of masked figures visit homes and goes around all night until midnight, at which time they all disappear…[44]

The Faculty Club's event can be regarded as a new type of event compared to the earlier community hall celebrations. First, the Faculty Club's Malanka took place in a different social context – it was not a farming community but an urban setting, which was even further detached from the Ukrainian village, where the custom originated. The event was organized exclusively by intellectuals. Second, the celebration in the Faculty Club had a strong and clear "outward" orientation: the organizers intended it for outsiders as well as for members of the Ukrainian community.

These two factors influenced the form of the celebration. On the one hand, the way the celebration was prepared and described by the informants reveals the organizers' intention to make the event aesthetically attractive to match tastes of an educated non-

[44] The account is a written form of Mrs. Gulutsan's explanations, from time to time she referred to her printed version.

Ukrainian audience. On the other hand, the group of organizers, comprised of University-associated intellectuals, made a special effort to create what can be called a "Ukrainian evening," full of multiple references to Ukrainian culture and spirituality. Some details, like the above-mentioned sheaves in the Radway hall, tell us that accumulation of Ukrainian symbols around the Malanka started earlier, but in the Faculty Club the process went much further.

According to Wsevolod Isajiw, ethnic symbols are symbols of group experience.[45] The author notes that these symbols are what an ethnic identity is based on. The author defines ethnic identity as "socio-psychological process through which individuals subjectively include themselves in a community of alleged ancestors or predecessors who share a distinct culture." [46]

The author also notes that it is *stable elements* of group's experience that the ethnic symbols are based on.[47] Traditional peasant culture with its accumulated norms, values, notions and traditions, is a bountiful source of those stable elements, while a custom like Malanka represents them in unique and lively form. These symbols need to be expressed not only for the purpose of above-mentioned distinctiveness, but also for the purpose of the transmission of the cultural heritage. "No matter how strongly an individual identifies with an ethnic background, if this identity is not reflected in action and experience, it makes little contribution to sustaining ethnicity..."[48]

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[45] Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity: Their Meaning and Significance", in *Visible Symbols: Cultural Expression Among Canada's Ukrainians*, edited by M. L. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1984), 119.
[46] Isajiw, 119.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Richard D. Alba, *Ethnic Identity: the transformation of white America* (London: Yale University Press, 1990), 75-76.

From this standpoint the revival of the Malanka celebration can be regarded as an action, the action in "invention of tradition."[49] Hobsbawm defines the "invented tradition" as "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past."[50]

If we take a closer look at the Malanka celebration in the Faculty Club it has interesting peculiarities. Similar to the classical "invented traditions" described in Hobsbawm and Ranger's book, the Malanka claims its origins in pre-Christian culture and mythology. On the other hand, this celebration refers to a recent custom, which older organizers could relate to through their personal experiences in east central Alberta. The organizers' original contribution was the refined style of the event, which was achieved by the banquet format and modern and prestigious style of entertainment. They also made a point of avoiding repetitions in many aspects of the event: every year the skit had a new plot, and the interior design was deliberately changed annually. Perhaps this reflected not only the commercial paradigm, but also the folk nature of the custom, which in original form allowed variety and spontaneity along with traditional patterns and forms.

It should be noted that Mrs. Gulutsan's account of the symbolic meaning Malanka characters is largely based on Stepan Kylymnyk's analysis, in particular on a folk legend collected by Iurii Fed'kovych.[51] One difference is that Stepan Kylymnyk did not interpret

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[49] Eric J. Hobsbawm, Terence Ranger, eds., *Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
[50] Ibid, 5.
[51] Stepan Kylymnyk, *Ukrains'kyi rik u narodnikh zvychaiakh v istorychnomu osvitlenni* [Ukrainian year in Ukrainian customs in historical perspective] vol. 1(Winnipeg: Tryzub, 1955), 123-124.

the animal characters as spirits – this part was probably taken from some other source, but Mrs. Gulutsan did not remember which one.

In this case it is interesting to note how the framework of meaning was constructed and what served as the authoritative knowledge. First, Mrs. Gulutsan insisted that that essential knowledge on how to organize the Malanka, in particularly the skit, can be derived from "written sources" at the first place.[52] Such an attitude makes the knowledge derived from personal experience less important than published materials, which would be called "secondary sources" in many research contexts. Second, the choice of authors was important: both Oleksa Voropai and Stepan Kylymnyk's studies adopt a nostalgic and non-critical approach to the traditions they describe, presenting them generally as "eternal" and static phenomena. This approach is similar to the ideas of the mythological school of folklore, which was most influential in the nineteenth century.[53] In the context of Romantic nationalism in Europe, the ideas of the mythological school were instrumental for supporting claims for uniqueness and national sovereignty; in the case of Ukrainians in Alberta we probably deal with another attempt in forming a national narrative and reinforcing an ethnic identity on the basis of history, mythology and folk culture.

The Faculty Club's Malanka was a pronounced success as a public event – during the following years there was always shortage of tickets. It is also important that it reverberated, setting a model for many other local groups.

Over the years of evolution it was not only the form of the custom that changed but also the meaning. Reviving the Malanka, the members of the Ukrainian community

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[52] Interview with Lena Gulutsan and Anna Zwozdesky.

attempted to create ethnic symbols through connection with the traditional culture. These symbols were supposed to reinforce ethnic identity and underline the distinctiveness of the group in context of the mainstream culture.

Since the beginning of the seventies, a whole constellation of Malanka celebrations has spread all over Edmonton (for the complete list of the events see appendix 3).

There is no doubt that the success of the Faculty Club's Malanka made a significant impact on the way other local Ukrainian organizations approached their own Malanka celebrations. Michael Zukiwsky illustrates the point well: in the eighties he was involved in the Faculty Club's event and later he helped to organize the Malanka in the of St. Andrew's Parish; he admits that he borrowed many ideas from his experience in the Faculty Club and used them in the new place.

Church parish celebrations, according to the informants, started in the seventies (St. Andrew's, St. John's),[54] while the celebrations organized by Ukrainian social organizations (Ukrainian National Federation, Ukrainian Centre and Ukrainian Youth Association) can be traced only to the eighties.[55] It is interesting to note that Ukrainian Centre's Malanka was established as a substitution for a New Year's Eve party in December 31: one year the organizers decided to stop the poorly attended event and invest their efforts in what seemed to be a more popular idea – the Malanka.[56]

The Malanka in *Na Zdorovya* Bar has the most recent history – the first celebration took place in year 2000. However the idea of turning Malanka into a

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[53] V. Petrov, Z. Kuzela, P. Odarchenko "Ethnography: the History and the Present State of Research", 268-79, in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopaedia*, vol. 1, 270-71.
[54] Interviews with Michael Zukiwsky, Lesia Pohorecky.
[55] Interviews with Sheryl Balay, George Yopyk, Orysia Huk.

profitable project is not new – a few informants mentioned that in the seventies, when the Malanka event was very popular, some hotels in the city organized their own "Malanka dance parties," inviting Ukrainian dance groups to perform for the guests.[57]

A few Malanka events were left outside the scope of this study because they were not organized in Edmonton. However, some of them are very connected to the city. The Malanka in Radway hosted a large number of guests who came from the city, the band was hired in Edmonton, as was the Ukrainian dance instructor for the local junior group.[58]

The Malanka in the famous resort of Jasper (Jasper Park Lodge) is a very prominent event. A large percentage of the guests come from Edmonton – the modern state of transportation virtually eliminating the obstacle of distances. The celebration in Jasper is a most prestigious event, especially since the Faculty Club's Malanka was closed. Many informants have been there, while others expressed their desire to go there.

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[56] Interview with Edna Chmiliar, March 22, 2002.
[57] Interviews with Paul Sembaliuk, Michael Zukiwsky.
[58] Interview with Morris Wenger.

Chapter 2

MALANKA: STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE EVENT

Being one of the largest calendar Ukrainian community events in Edmonton, the contemporary Malanka celebration is a very complex and eclectic phenomenon. The celebration accommodates elements typical for mainstream entertainment culture and elements characteristic for formal Ukrainian community events. The scheme below shows various activities which usually make up the evening.

Figure 4. Structural elements of the modern Malanka celebration in Edmonton

The structure of the Malanka organically combines different types of Ukrainian elements and as such it can be analyzed on three different levels:

- as a community gathering and entertainment (*zabava*) with dinner, live music and social dance;
- as a exhibition of Ukrainian performative arts like staged Ukrainian dance and choir performance;

- as a community celebration of winter cycle holidays (the Christmas season, New Year).

The Malanka 2001 project included documentation of 17 Malanka celebrations in Edmonton and east central Alberta (see the list of video-recordings in appendix 2). Among them only 10 events, those which took place in Edmonton, were brought into focus for this analysis. The following is a list of the organizations, which celebrations were subject of analysis in this chapter.[59]

1. St Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Parish
2. St. John's Ukrainian Orthodox Parish
3. Holy Cross Ukrainian Catholic Parish
4. The Ukrainian Youth Association
5. The Ukrainian National Federation
6. The Ukrainian Centre
7. *Hromada* Housing cooperative
8. Longriders Saloon
9. *Na Zdorovya* Ukrainian Pub
10. Royal Purple Charity organization

Three Malanky were organized by Ukrainian parishes and were held in the corresponding parish halls. The Malanka organized by the Holy Cross Ukrainian Catholic Parish is represented by the concert organized in the West Edmonton Mall. St. John's Malanka is the only one among 17 events which was documented later, in January 2002.

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[59] Malanky in the small towns have their own unique histories, which in the case of Radway Malanka date back to the twenties (see the interview with Morris Wenger).

In 2001 the event was cancelled. The materials for the project are housed as 2001.004 and 2002.002 in the Ukrainian Folklore Archives at the University of Alberta.

The Ukrainian Youth Association (UYA), commonly known as SUM (*Spilka Ukrainskoi Molodi*), is an international voluntary, non-profit youth organization with branches across Canada. The membership is comprised primarily of youth between the ages of 5 and 18. The Association encourages Ukrainian children and youth to discover their Ukrainian heritage by promoting Ukrainian language traditions and cultural activities.[60]

The Ukrainian National Federation was founded as a nationalist political organization in 1933. The branch in Edmonton was established in the early forties. Today, according to George Yopyk, the organizer of the local Malanka, the organization emphasizes cultural activities.[61]

The Ukrainian Centre is a cultural centre of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians, the successor of the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association, a left – wing organization. For years it was closely associated with the Communist party of Canada.

Hromada is a Ukrainian social organization and housing cooperative, which was formed in the seventies and united some politically and socially active people of Ukrainian origin. In its formal mandate it supports Ukrainism, feminism and socialism. Among their special events are annual small-scale Malanka celebrations, which feature amateur performances of the members, often on political and social themes.

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[60] The information was taken the UYA official web-site at http://www.cym.org/ca/about.asp.
[61] Interview with George Yopyk.

The project was carried out by the scholars of the Huculak Chair and graduate students affiliated with the Ukrainian Folklore programme. The researchers went to the Malanka celebrations as guests on having secured the permission to document the event. In the course of the evening the researchers were both observers and participants. Documenting activities included making video recordings, taking photographs, interviewing the hosts and guests, collecting other materials, taking field notes. The organizers were very cooperative – most of them were pleased that their celebration was chosen as a subject of research. The author of this paper visited three of these events. The presence of the researchers and their goals were announced to the public but the fact seemingly did not distort the atmosphere of the celebration.

It is difficult to make generalizations that are applicable to all the Malanka events. They were organized in different dates (in some instances two weeks from each other), they took place in different settings – in community halls, pubs, a private apartment and a large shopping mall. Some of them contain substantial references to the folk custom of Malanka, while some do not. However, within this variety, there were major elements which were common for many of the events and can be used as units for analysis – their diversity of styles and unique combination created the atmosphere of each celebration.

Guests

Most of the Malanky were family functions and the age distribution included younger and older generations, with some prevalence of middle-aged people. There tended to be a greater presence of children at celebrations organized by church parishes. The presence of a large number of children has a significant impact on organization in

terms of timing and preparation of the costumed performances. On the other hand, some Malanky were understood as primarily adult events, and in those cases presence of children was not encouraged. Sheryl Balay noted that the adults would rather have drinks without being watched by children.[62] Relatively high prices for tickets and the absence of children's discounts could also be obstacles for bringing children, like for example at the Ukrainian Youth Centre's celebration: the ticket price was $35, while the average Malanka ticket at other localities was $20-25 for an adult and $10-15 for a child.

Figure 5. Guests at the table. Malanka at St. Andrew's church.

Youth was another distinct group age at Malanka celebrations. Most often young people came as part of family groups, but spent time with each other dancing, socializing and taking part in the performances. The later evening's discotheque music was primarily intended for the youth audience, while families with small children tended to leave by that time.[63]

According to the interviews a large percentage of the guests were outsiders – people who were not members of the organization or not of Ukrainian descent. Several

[62] Interview with Sheryl Balay.
[63] Interview with Orysia Huk.

organizers estimated that 25-30% of the guests came from outside the community.[64] The Malanky are advertised events so new people are attracted each year.

On the other hand, many families come year after year. In fact each Malanka developed its own core audience based on the members and associated people, sometimes with easily identified peculiarities – for example, the UNO Malanka in 2001 had a large percentage of recent immigrants, while at the *Na Zdorovyia* bar the majority were Ukrainians recently immigrated from Bosnia.[65]

Dress

The way people dress for Malanka reveals the status of the celebration. There are no official rules on the matter, however some tendencies can be noticed. Most events are semi-formal: men wear suits and ties, women wear evening dresses or elegant casual style. However, some events stand out in this respect. The Ukrainian Youth Association's Malanka requires quite formal dress (though not necessarily tuxedos for men). Orysia Huk, one of the organizers, explains that many friends of her buy a dress for the occasion well in advance, and a special hairstyle and professional pedicure are also important parts of the preparation; men may also refresh their wardrobe with a new tie or shirt. Orysia remembers an episode when a woman chose to leave the event – she decided that she was underdressed for the occasion.[66]

In the case of the Faculty Club's Malanka the standards were set even higher – classical formal attire was expected.[67] In these circumstances the dress requirements

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[64] Interviews with George Yopyk, Orysia Huk, Edna Chmiliar, March 22, 2002.
[65] Interviews with George Yopyk, Lisa MacDonald.
[66] Interview with Orysia Huk.
[67] Interview with Paul Sembaliuk.

reflected the relatively elitist character of the gathering and recognition of/ claim for privileged social status expressed in terms of the mainstream culture. In the seventies the tuxedos were often complemented with Ukrainian embroidered shirts.[68] In this case we see combination of two distinct markers of status: the embroidered shirt is one of the most powerful markers of Ukrainian identity, and its combination with formal outwear reveals the claim for a higher and more respectful social position for the ethnic group.

In 2001 embroidered Ukrainian shirts can rarely be spotted among the guests. They are worn mostly by older persons and by those who perform special functions on the celebration – the Host and Hostess, dancers, musicians etc. The stage performers normally change their Ukrainian costumes for formal wear after the presentation. Many people came to celebrate Malanka to Longriders Saloon in Ukrainian shirts. The significant number of outsiders and the Western country style exterior made this visual highlighting of ethnic identity more relevant than in other places.[69]

Choir and Dance Performance

Among the ten celebrations analyzed, three had a formal choir performance – the Ukrainian Centre, Ukrainian Youth Unity Centre and St. John's parish. If there was a choir performance during the Malanka celebration it was usually delivered by local choir members and featured a repertoire related to the Christmas season. Popular Ukrainian carols like *Boh Predvichnyi, U Vifliiemi* and others were presented – the performances took place at the beginning of the evening. The presentation at St. John's was the longest one, around 30 min: the performers (approximately fifteen people) changed their position

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[68] Ibid.
[69] Video – Malanka at the Longriders Saloon.

around the hall each two or three carols. The style of the presentation was reminiscent of the tradition of carolling house to house (figure 6).[70]

Figure 6. A choir performs Ukrainian carols. Malanka at St. Johns.

In the Ukrainian Centre the repertoire was a mixture of Ukrainian Christmas carols, New Year songs (*shchedrivky*) and folk songs. Some Ukrainian carols were sung at the very beginning of the evening as background music. It should be mentioned that carols with religious motifs only recently became part of the repertoire – traditionally AUUC avoided any religious references in their cultural programs. The fall of the Soviet Union and the global political changes of the nineties, caused the organizers reconsider this position and include some songs of this genre. Still the folk calendar nature of the songs was highlighted. Some songs were sung in variants that neutralized the religious meaning: in the *shchedrivka* "*Dobryi Vechir tobi…*" the phrase "*Syn Bozhyi narodyvsia*" [God's son is born] was changed for "*Rik novyi narodyvsia*" [New Year is born]. This version has been traditional for this community for some time.[71]

Sometimes the carols were performed in a more informal fashion by the guests themselves at some point during the evening.

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[70] Video - Malanka at St. John's Cathedral.
[71] Interview with Cheryl Balay.

Ukrainian staged dance has become an important symbol of Ukrainians in Alberta. It is an important part of the ethnic identity and a powerful way to promote the ethnic culture. In Alberta there are approximately eighty Ukrainian dance groups with approximately 4,500 people involved in Ukrainian dance.[72] Every year numerous concerts, dance competitions and festivals take place around the city and area. Staged Ukrainian dance is also a part of community celebrations like Malanka. In 2001 six of the ten Malanka celebrations had staged Ukrainian dance as part of their program. In some cases these were junior groups like at St. Andrew's – children of 5-6 years, in other cases these were young adult members of well-known ensembles - *Trembita* dancers in the Ukrainian Youth Association, *Volya* dancers in the Longriders saloon and others (figure 7).

Figure 7. Hopak performed by Ukrainian dancers during Malanka at St. Michael's parish hall.

The Malanka dance performance prepared by the Holy Cross Ukrainian Catholic parish stands out. Their celebration was a two-day program organized in the West Edmonton Mall – the largest shopping and entertainment centre of the province. The Ukrainian dance performance by the *Zorianka* dancers was the major attraction of the event, which also included Ukrainian instrumental music and crafts. From the perspective

of the Holy Cross participants the event was not a commercial venture but an annual cultural project, the major purpose of which was to promote Ukrainian culture and provide stage experience for the young generation of dancers.[73] The performance was staged in an open area at ground level and lasted a few hours – it was open for the general public and visitors of the Mall (figure 8). It should be mentioned that a community celebration with dinner was taking place the same evening in the parish hall. In this case the celebration was not only divided into two parts, it was also double-oriented: a more private, domestic celebration contrasted with a concert-like event intended mostly for outsiders.

Figure 8. Zorianka dancers start their performance at the West Edmonton Mall.

The Ukrainian staged dance presented at Malanky can be classified as a second existence folk dance.[74] A stylized, polished, synchronized, spectacular and neatly choreographed performances were presented (at least were intended). The dancers were dressed in stylized national or regional Ukrainian costumes. The most popular dances were Hopak (performed at four celebrations) and Hutsul dances (two celebrations).

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[72] Personal communication with Andriy Nahachewsky. See also Kim Nahachewsky, Alberta Ukrainian Dance: A Look at the Need to Develop Province-Wide Resources (Edmonton: Alberta Ukrainian Dance Association, 1983), 4.

[73] On side of the Mall's administration the event served as an attraction for the visitors and in this case the administration was commercially motivated.

[74] Felix Hoerburger, "Once Again: on the Concept of 'Folk Dance'," *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 20 (1968), 30-31.

The dominance of Hopak dance can be easily explained – such a short program requires a representative, rich, technically impressive dance. All these feature are combined in Hopak. The Hutsul dances proved to be a second choice – perhaps less technically demanding, they give the opportunity to present the picturesque Hutsul traditional wear. They are good dances for junior dance groups.

Each performance consisted of one to three dances and lasted for about five to ten minutes. The number of performers was about 12-15 and the choreography featured various formations, combinations of individual, couple and circle elements. After the show, the dancers changed out of their stage costumes and took their places at the tables.

The dance group was usually affiliated with the hosting organization and therefore performed on volunteer basis. In other events, such as at the Longriders Saloon, the dance groups was hired for the occasion.

Social Dance

One of the attractions of the evening was social dance to live music, which started after the dinner (figure 9). The guests eagerly participated until late hours – the band typically stopped playing around 1:30 a.m. For this

Figure 9. Couple dance. Malanka at St. Andrew's.

purpose the organizers hired a local Ukrainian band. Some of the bands, such as *Charka*, performed at more than one Malanka celebration in 2001. As one of the organizers noted, live music is an absolutely necessary element of Malanka – it would be a disgrace for an organizer if he/she tries to save money and hire a DJ.[75] The categories of musical instrumentation varied. In many cases it included violin, *tsymbaly*, accordion, guitar, drums, cymbalss and keyboard. The musicians usually occupied the stage of the hall, while the guests danced in the large floor area. The music was accompanied by solo singing. Almost all of the bands started the dance with popular Ukrainian songs, which constituted the major part of the repertoires. Later in the evening this Ukrainian music mixed with popular Western music, from classical disco to more recent hits. There was only general uniformity in performing steps and motifs; the majority of dances were couple dances – slow and fast tempo, polka was among most popular dances. Circle dances were rare – one or two for the evening. The "link chain dance" [my term – A.C.] was performed in the Ukrainian Centre – the dancers formed a chain and those at its head directed the movement around into an inner circle and then to the opposite direction.[76]

The "wave" [my term – A.C.] circle dance occurred as an element related to the countdown ceremony – the people join their hands and make wave movements leaning to one then to the other side. This simple dance seems to symbolize union of the community.

Among popular non-Ukrainian dances were the Butterfly, Chicken Dance, waltz, rock-and-roll, Makarena.

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[75] Interview with Edna Chmiliar, March 20, 2001.
[76] Video - Malanka at the Ukrainian Centre.

Kolomyika

The *Kolomyika* is a unique form of social dance, which originated in Canada in the 1960s.[77] According to Andriy Nahachewsky, this dance form was influenced by Ukrainian social dance one the one hand and the spectacular tradition of Ukrainian dance on the other.[78]

Figure 10. Kolomyika at the Malanka in St. Michael, Alberta.

In 2001, the *kolomyika* was performed at St. John's, the Ukrainian Youth Association and the Ukrainian Centre. The following is a summarized description of what happened.

In all the cases the dance was performed close to the end of the evening. By its emotional input and the degree of attention from the audience the *kolomyika* became a focal point of the evening. At some point the people on the floor formed a circle, leaving some open space, inside and started applauding to the rhythm of the music. One after one, or in small groups, individuals seized the floor in the centre of the circle to show off a step from Ukrainian dance (figure 10).

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[77] The term "kolomyika" refers to a whole spectre of Ukrainian folk dance, in this particular context we deal with what Andriy Nahachewsky identifies as "recent social *kolomyika*" (see Andriy Nahachewsky, "The Kolomyika: Change and Diversity in Canadian Ukrainian Folk Dance," Ph.D. thesis (University of Alberta, 1991), 240-248).

[78] Ibid, 240.

Those who dared to perform were obviously people with some formal Ukrainian dance training. Males tended to perform technically and physically demanding elements of Hopak, as for example split jumps, – their virtuosity and strength were highly praised by the audience. Women's motifs, often various turning movements, to the contrary showed grace and balance.[79] Some elements were performed by both men and women. An unspoken rule of the dance could be defined as "nothing twice": every next individual tried to demonstrate something new. A dancer could seize the floor a few times - insofar as he or she brought new elements. Another unspoken rule of the dance is "just keep it going": dancers try to push to the end, exploring all their arsenal.

The sequence of performers and steps were decided right on the spot, and the elements that involve coordination of a group of dancers were quickly negotiated in the same manner. The border between spectators and performers in this game was somewhat obliterated: every individual from the audience could join at any moment, while those who finished temporarily turned into spectators. The set of priorities seemed to be different from staged Ukrainian dance: vigor, energy, enthusiasm and ingenuity were praised more than technical perfection. In some cases it took more than one attempt for dancers to demonstrate especially difficult element – but it was determination that counted. Juniors and people with minimal skills were also highly praised by the audience for their vigour and willingness to participate actively. After all, the *kolomyika* is not only competition in skills and artistry, but also a strong emotional community experience.

The question remains to what degree the *kolomyika* is improvisation. How to perform, what to perform, how many people to involve and when is the sphere of

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[79] Video - Malanka at the Ukrainian Youth Unity Centre.

improvisation. As for the technical elements, they are mostly are well rehearsed. More than that the dancers reportedly spend some time after dance practice polishing some spectacular elements and sometimes trying to invent new.[80]

Facility Decorations

The facility for the Malanka event was usually specially prepared for the celebration. The walls, ceiling, stage and tables were decorated. The style of decoration included multiple references to Christmas season. Four of the Malanky had a Christmas tree located somewhere at the side of the stage. On the walls, there were hanging fir-branch decorations with red ribbon knots. Large tin decorations in the form of snowflakes hung down from the ceiling in the Ukrainian Youth Centre and the Ukrainian National Federation Hall. Multi-colored balloons were also used as decorations – in the Longriders Saloon they formed an arch above the stage. In Na Zdorovyia bar, balloons hung from the ceiling; on some occasions there was also a large plastic bag with balloons mounted up near the centre of the ceiling – this bag was to be released later at midnight. At St. John's there was a table at the

Figure 11. Stage decorated for Malanka. St. Michael's parish hall.

[80] For a more detailed description of various technical elements of the *kolomyika* see Nahachewsky "The Kolomyika.",

entrance with *rusnyky* (decorated towels) and a *didukh* (ritual sheaf) – this last element was also used in *Hromada* celebration.

In this brief overview of the decorations we clearly see that the North American Christmas tradition had a significant impact. At the same time certain Ukrainian Christmas symbols were also successfully incorporated. The Malanka-specific decorations interplayed with more permanent facility ornamentation such as posters, memorabilia, portraits of cultural and political figures (Shevchenko, Franko), as well as Ukrainian and Canadian national symbols.

Games and Rituals

According to Victor Turner the ritual is "a stereotyped series of activities, gestures, words and objects, performed in a sequestered place";[81] From this standpoint some of the activities of the Malanka celebrations had ritual character. Some of these activities included reenactment of traditional religious and folk rituals as well as innovative rituals derived from them.

Most frequent was the use of elements of the Ukrainian Christmas season tradition. The master of the ceremonies greeted the audience "*Khrystos Razhdaietsia*!" [Christ is born!] and the audience echoed "*Slavimo Ioho*" [Let's glorify him!]. Before the dinner prayers were typically said by a priest and followed by the guests. In some cases the Christmas carol *Boh Predvichnyi* was sung by all the guests. These ritual activities demonstrated that the celebration can be interpreted as a communal celebration of Christmas, in contrast to a traditionally private, family-circle celebration of the Holy

Supper. In this case it can be seen as a metaphor: community as a large family that celebrates Christmas. It is a good illustration of how rituals helps "justify and unify a social group" and at the same time reveals the most fundamental values of it.[82] This motif of a large family can be found in many other activities as well, especially those related to the Ukrainian traditions.

Some Malankas (St. John's, St. Andrew's) involved a ritual of welcoming guests with ritual bread (*kolach*) as they entered the hall. At St. John's the guests were first greeted by the couple who played the role of hosts of the celebration. The *Hospodar* and *Hospodynia* [master of the house and lady of the house] were a man and woman in Ukrainian embroidered shirts (figure 12). They invited the newcomers to taste *kolach* and welcomed them to the celebration. This "domestication" of the hall through identifying its "hosts" – as it were a private home – reveals the tenacious attachment to the traditional rural/farming type of social organization.

Figure 12. Hospodar and Hospodynia of the Malanka at St. John's.

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[81] Victor W. Turner, "Symbols in African Ritual," in *Symbolic Anthropology: A Reader in the Study of Symbols and Meanings*, edited by J. L. Dolgin, D. S. Kemnitzer and D. M. Schneider (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 187.

[82] Christopher Small, "Performance as a Ritual: Sketch for an Enquery into the True Nature of a Symphony concert," in Lost in Music: Culture, Style and the Music Event, edited by A.L. White (London: Rouledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), 7.

Other winter cycle rituals were also incorporated into the celebration. The first one was ritual sowing. Traditionally, this custom was carried out on New Year day by young boys. In St. Andrew's it was performed by a newly appointed *Hospodar* of the evening, the oldest person among the guests. He made a brief speech he not that they used to sow grain as children for New Years. He recited well-wishing verses and tossed some grain on a plate, which his wife held in front of him. The old man became very sentimental and the audience was moved. In this case, ceremonial powers were delegated to a representative of the old generation, who was looked upon as the bearer of the tradition and values. The ritual itself, though, was performed in a symbolic manner, without trying to recreate the context or the entire form. Rather it was merely a reference to the custom.

In the *Hromada* cooperative, the participants have an annual tradition of burning a *didukh* outside of the house (figure 13) and leaping over the fire. This a traditional winter holiday custom, which most often took place at Jordan day (the feast of the Epiphany) and symbolized the end of the Christmas season. The action was interpreted by Voropai as releasing the spirits of ancestors who were hosted in the house during the holidays.[83] In the New Year's context the ritual has a similar

Figure 13. Burning the *didukh* at the Hromada's Malanka.

[83] See Oleksa Voropai, *Zvychai nashoho narodu*, vol.2. (Munich: Ukrains'ke vydavnytstvo, 1958), 172.

meaning – ending the old year by burning it.[84] As for leaping over the fire, this element was part of several Ukrainian calendar customs, including Kupalo celebration at summer solstice, and was significant as a purifying rite.[85]

Another ritual activity that was enacted by the people of Hromada was fortune-telling. In contrast with mocking fortune-telling as part of Malanka skit (see the next chapter) this activity is viewed as a serious matter, at least by Khrystia Chomiak. In the process of fortune-telling, she referred to it as "wax reading," the fortune-teller plays the role of mediator, she says. She believes this role takes a lot of energy and it can be dangerous for the person – that is why she does not practice it much. She melted wax from a candle and dripped it into water, the formations of solidified wax were the subject of interpretation: the fortune-teller showed the wax formations to the people in the room, and they offered their suggestions on what the shapes might mean.[86]

Another popular entertainment, and an additional fundraiser at Malanka, was the lottery. Lotteries were part of four of the documented celebrations. The game was sometimes based on door ticket numbers and sometimes on tickets specially sold during the evening. The prizes for the lottery were of various kinds and included money, paintings, hockey tickets, and liquor. The Ukrainian Youth Centre's celebration had two lotteries with a long list of prizes sponsored by various companies including bars, hair salons and massage parlours. All the prizes were listed in the program flier. The distribution of the prizes took some time – the master of the ceremonies called the lucky

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[84] Personal interview with Khrystia Chomiak, March 22, 2002, Edmonton.
[85] Vasyl' Skurativs'kyi, *Didukh* (Kyiv: Osvita, 1995), 167.
[86] Video - Malanka at the *Hromada*.

number and the winner, who came to the front and collected the gift if they were present.[87]

At times the lottery procedure was less routine. In the Ukrainian National Federation raffle tickets were sold from a large roll. The length of the ticket ribbon, and the number of tickets to be given to a purchaser was determined by measuring his wife, daughter, sister or girl-friend. The purchaser's chances to win were proportional to his lady's height, waist or arm length. The organizers pretended this was a serious matter, although the measurements were quite arbitrary (occasionally, the height of a chair was added to the lady's height) and the process caused laughter and commotion.[88]

Language

Language is one of the crucial symbols of identity, including Ukrainians in Canada.[89] It is important to see how this symbol was represented at the Malanka celebrations. The focus here is the use of language as a symbol and/or as instrument for communication.

Table 1 is an attempt to summarize the use of English and Ukrainian during the events. Since it was not possible to quantify the casual, private use of language, the summary deals with the official use of language at the celebrations – program announcements, comments on the performances delivered by the masters of ceremonies, remarks of the performers, etc. The "exclusive" use of language means that no translation was provided; the term "mostly" means that summary translation was provided; the category "bilingual" (split into two columns) shows which language was used first in

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[87] Video - Malanka at the Ukrainian Youth Unity Centre.
[88] Video – Malanka at the UNF.

cases when the same information was covered in both languages. It can be assumed that the use of language was guided by few factors, such as traditional use, the estimated number of non-Ukrainian speakers, orientation toward certain category of guests, convenience and probably others.

	Exclusively English	Mostly English	Bilingual with 1st language English	/Ukrainian	Mostly Ukrainian	Exclusively Ukrainian
Hromada (cooperative)			✓			
Longriders Saloon			✓			
Na Zdorovya Ukrainian Pub					✓	
Royal Purple and Elks Charitable Organization	✓					
St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox parish		✓				
St. John's Ukrainian Orthodox parish		✓				
Ukrainian Centre (AUUC)			✓			
Ukrainian National Federation					✓	
Ukrainian Youth Association		✓				
West Edmonton Mall concert	✓					

Table 1.

The first observation from the table is that English dominated. The second observation is that Ukrainian was in use in most cases when the celebration was organized by a Ukrainian organization. The third observation is that Ukrainian was used as the first language only in two cases.

At the same time it should be noted that carols, prayers and greetings were in Ukrainian even in those cases when English was the main language. It is an example of

[89] Wsevolod W. Isajiw, "Symbols and Ukrainian Canadian Identity" in *Visible Symbol: Cultural Expression among Canada's Ukrainians*, edited by Manoly R. Lupul (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1984), 121.

how performative art, religion and ritual formulas are more conservative than the less ritualized elements of the celebration. There is a tendency for the Ukrainian language to survive longer as an ethnic symbol than as a means of communication.

Dinner

Dinner, along with live music, is regarded by the organizers as the fundamental part of the evening and a key to the success. Food can be viewed as a core of the evening: seating the guests, cocktail hour, preparations for serving, lining up for buffet, the dinner itself and finally the late night snack. All together the elements connected with food took an average of approximately 3.5 hours, 40% of the duration of the event. During the rest of the evening the guests kept coming back to the tables to rest in between social dances, to have some more food and drinks, and to socialize. The table was a basic unit of socializing – there are usually 8-12 people at a table, drawing people together and creating new acquaintances.

Figure 14. Preparing the smorg table. Malanka at Radway.

The distribution of food was organized on a self-serve basis in most cases. The guests lined up to the long buffet and took what they wished. The decision making as to which tables get priority for access to the buffet was the subject of merry-making during

the evenings. In some cases this dilemma was decided by lottery. At St. Andrew's, it was a carol singing competition.

There were some exceptions to the general pattern. In the Youth Unity Centre there were round tables, with only eight people on them, and the food was served by volunteers. At *Na Zdorovyia* food was not included in the ticket price and guests simply chose from the regular menu. The *Hromada* Malanka included a potluck dinner.

Most organizers referrred to the menu as "Ukrainian food," describing a combination of celebrated Ukrainian dishes like *perogies* (dumplings) – (at Royal Purple there were a few types of them), *holubtsi* (cabbage rolls), *nachynka* (a special kind of corn gruel) with beef slices and salads. It was not possible to distinguish between ethnic and not-ethnic recipes strictly – it was the perception of food as Ukrainian is that counted.

Kutia was the only ritual Ukrainian dish highlighted in the celebration. It is the main Ukrainian Christmas dish (one of twelve on the Holy Supper), which is traditionally consumed during the subsequent winter holidays as well, until the feast of Epiphany. In some cases, like St.Michael, the *kutia* was tasted just before dinner as the first dish. Along with the prayers, this gave a ritual character to the evening.

At almost all Malanky, liquor could be obtained in the bar in exchange for liquor tickets.

Chapter 3

THE MALANKA SHOW: TRADITION AND INNOVATION

In classical ethnographic studies we can usually find a general description of the performance which the Malanka group plays in the house. More detailed information can be found in Kurochkin's structural analysis of Malanka.[90] Without going into details it is possible to single out a few formal features which characterized traditional Malanka performances in the house. Several features are especially important for the analysis of the modern versions of the Malanka performances. In the Edmonton area, it is often referred to as the Malanka "skit."

First, the performance in the house was just part of the Malanka festivities, which also included outdoors games, processions, bonfires, fortune-telling etc. Second, the performance was usually repeated a number of times during the evening, and individual performances could significantly differ in content and length depending on the hospitality of the hosts and other factors.

Third, the performance organically combined several performative activities – singing, dancing, pantomime, storytelling – with concrete purposeful actions like begging, stealing, playing tricks. Forth, the carnival spirit with its suspension of normalcy and "inversion" pervaded the participants' actions: there is often notable contradiction between words and actions, and place for relatively uninhibited "anti-social" behavior.

Fifth, the whole action was not usually tied into a single play or plot: several actions unfolded simultaneously – the characters, each following their role, played tricks, interacted with the hosts and engaged into comical scenes with each other. Sixth, the

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[90] Oleksandr Kurochkin, *Ukrains'ki novorichni obriady: "Koza" i "Malanka" : z istorii narodnykh masok*, . Opishne: Ukrains'ke narodoznavstvo, 1995.

masked performers actively interacted with the audience, turning the hosts into participants: in addition to addressing them directly, the characters made requests, praised the members of the family, shared food and drinks with them, proposed "help," "business deals" etc.

Unfortunately, the richness of the communicative playful and non-verbal expressions of the event are not reflected in ethnographic materials – what we usually find is general description of the actions and words of ritual songs. Details like concrete remarks, jokes, gestures – the elements that require most creative input and bear most individual expression – were inevitably more difficult to document in words, and were glossed over.

One revealing document of a Malanka performance which illustrates some of the above-mentioned features can be found in the popular brochure *Malanka* published in Bukovyna in 1922. The description of the Malanka is given in the form of a play. Although the specific origins of the particular text are not known, there are suggestions that it reflects the rural custom from Bukovyna to substantial degree. The text contains concrete dialogues of the participants and prescribes contextualized gestures.

> The cast:
> Malanka, young woman.
> Vasyl' Kozhumiaka, Malanka's husband
> Slavutytsia Chortomliaka, cossack
> Zelman, Jew
> Vasyl'ko, little boy
> Master
> Lady of the house
> Two children
> The action takes place in the evening, on New Year's eve.
>
> The master of the house, his wife and children are sitting at the table, with a tablecloth and with plenty of biscuits, apples and nuts on it. The Malanka group comes by the window or door and sings:

Oi, panochku, Rakhmanochku, [Oh, lord, Rakhman,]
Pustit' do khaty Malanochku! [Let Malanka into your house!]
Vona bo vam ne zavadyt' [She will not be a burden for you,]
Sim par voliv tai pryprovadyt' [But she will bring seven pairs of oxen with her.]

The Malanka group comes to the house.
The Jew (Zelman):

Sviat vecher! [Holy night,]
Sviat vecher! [Holy night,]
Gazdi [To the master of the house,]
i Gazdyni [To the lady of the house,]
Hospodariu tsiomu
i tsii hospodyni
Ditochkam, [To the children,]
Bulochkam, [To the buns,]
Pampushkam [To the biscuits,]
Pyrizhkam, [To the cakes,]
Horishkam, [To the nuts…]
Ia by ham... [I would taste them…]
Iikh tak ham, ham... [Right now…]

Slavutytsia (slapping the Jew upon his hump):

- *Akh, ty, sukhorebryi horbachu! Chy ia stoiu, chy ia kliachu, seichas do dila skachu. Hovory!* [Hey, you bony humpy! No matter what I always speak business first, so go ahead.]

The Jew:

- *Chy pane hospodariu dozvoliat' nam zaspivaty dlia nykh?* [Would the master allow us to sing for him?]

The Master:

- *Pozvoliu, pozvpoliu, chomuzh by i ni?!* [Of course, of course, why not?!]

Slavutytsia:

- *Ot tak, khai znaimo, chy nam vpered, chy nam v zad.* [Right, so that we know if we proceed or go back.]

Kozhumiaka:

- *My z Malankoiu u vashu chest', zazhartuiemo, zaspivaiemo I dali pochvaliaiemo.* [We and Malanka will sing and joke in your honour and then we'll be on our way.]

(Everybody sings, while Malanka takes her whitewash and a brush and pretend to whitewash the wall, plaster the oven, sweep the floor)

Nasha Malanka ne linyva, [Our Malanka is not lazy]
Uviishla v khatu, horn pidbilyla [She came to the house and whitewashed the oven.]

.....

Slavutytsia: *Anuko, brate, zhyde, my spivaly, a ty murchav. Poskachy no nam, pohuliai, nakhyliai i nam charochku nalyvai!* [Now, brother Jew, while we were singing you were just murmuring. Now you have to dance for us and give us a drink!]

The Jew (singing, leaping and pouring drink into a glass):

Proshu, proshu,	[Please, please]
Ia z Chortkova	[I am from Chortkiv,]
Shabasivka lopukhova	[Bur-shaped Sabbath candle]
A koftany bavoviany	[Cotton dress]
Hif, nivroky, moie pany!	[Heaven preserve us from harm, my hosts!]
I horilka iz konopli	[My whisky is made of hemp]
Shkoda, shkoda kozhde kropli	[I regret giving away every drop of it,]
Za zdorovlie vse khaziaistvo!	[For the prosperity of this household!]

(Slavutytsia drinks to Malanka, while he grabs Zelman and hugs him so hard that the hat falls off of Zelman's head)

- *Otse ty nash slavnyi pryiatel'*! *Khrin tobi v zuby*! [Oh, you are a good fellow! Horseradish into your teeth…] [91]

The characters of the play, the Jew (Zelman) and Cossack (Slavutytsia), in particular, are very similar to those of *Vertep* drama.[92] There are grounds to suggest that this play was influenced by the *Vertep* genre and was the result of consolidation of traditions, similar to the way the Herod character from the Christmas caroling ritual entered the Malanka procession (see Chapter 1).

There are grounds to suggest that besides entertainment, the Malanka skit accommodated some other social functions. It can be viewed as a ritual which comprises various levels of meaning. For example, Kurochkin argues that wedding and erotic motifs of the Malanka performance originated from agricultural magic since the idea of fertility is closely connected with human sexual potential. Kurochkin also notes that the clay that Malanka used for "plastering" the oven may have referred to the mythological idea of creation.[93] In this attempt to reveal architypal symbols behind the mummers' actions Kurochkin came close to Kylymnyk's "solar mythology" theme.

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[91] M. Dashkevych, Malanka (Chernivsi, 1922), 3-8.
[92] Mykola Markevych, "Obychai, pover'ia, kukhnia i napitki malorossian" [customs, beliefs, cuisine and drinks of malorossians=Ukrainians], in *Ukraintsi: narodni viruvannia, povir'ia, demonolohia* [Ukrainians: folk beliefs, legends and demonology], edited by A. P. Ponomariov et al. (Kyiv: Lybid', 1992), 93-94.
[93] Kurochkin, *Ukrainski novorichni obriady*, 192.

On the other hand, Kurochkin notes that the Malanka, in particular with its carnival "inversion," also had educational purposes. It strengthened norms of traditional morality. The caricature image of "frivolous and lazy" Malanka was supposed to be a warning for young unmarried girls, while ritual pranks could be a response to in the cases when somebody did not follow accepted social rules (like the taboo on working during holidays).[94] Finally, the Malanka performance, as was already noted in the first chapter, was an activity organized by young bachelors and served as an opportunity for courting.

Now it is interesting to see how the Malanka repertoire from ethnographic descriptions was interpreted and adopted to serve needs of a concrete Ukrainian community.

Among the ten Malanka celebrations that came into the focus of this study only four had a Malanka skit – St. John's, St. Andrews, the Ukrainian National Federation, the Ukrainian Youth Centre.[95] The average performance took approximately 25-30 minutes and took place in the middle of the evening, followed by the social dance.

It should be noted that importance of the Malanka skit differs from organization to organization. The fact that only minority of them included a skit as part of their programs shows it is not regarded as something indispensable for the evening. This idea is supported by the answers given by the organizers to the questions about most important things for Malanka: the majority mentioned food and drinks in the first place, and then

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[94] Ibid.

[95] According to the informants, Malanka skits used to be staged in Holy Cross parish, Hromada, Ukrainian Centre and once in the Na Zdorovya bar, however in year 2001 there was no skit organized in those places. In most cases the lack of time, volunteers and organizational efforts were reported as the reasons.

other elements including the skit. The organizers of the Royal Purple's celebration refused to call their celebrations "Malanka," arguing that without a skit it can not be called a Malanka. A Ukrainian New Year's Eve celebration seemed to be a more suitable term for them.[96] From this perspective the Malanka skit actually "makes" the celebration as such.

Before proceeding to the analysis of each of four skits, the important problem of sources of information should be touched upon. The information of how to organize a Malanka skit seems to come from four different sources:

- ethnographic studies on Ukrainian traditions;
- bilingual schools programs, popular editions, magazines etc.;
- experience with other community Malanka traditions;
- other sources[97]

The following is a brief description of the show presented at St. Andrew's celebration:

The performance opened with the introduction of the Old Year 2000 – "Grandfather," a man in a Ukrainian style overcoat with a self-made mask of the American president Bill Clinton. In entertaining style the narrator briefly summarized some of the last year events – Canadian and American elections, the Survivor show, oil prices. Grandfather/Clinton proudly paraded in front of the audience. However, the narrator indicated that Grandfather was not really liked and asked the audience to "boo" him, doing this every time when his name is mentioned. Then came Malanka Stewart (the narrator notes that Martha is Malanka in Polish) and her women escort. Malanka was a man in travestie dressed in an apron and holding a broom – "she" went around imitating cleaning. The narrator encouraged the audience to admire her loudly. Then came "snowflakes" (little girls) and the "snowball" (a woman in white stuffed to a plump figure), who took Malanka to the "dungeon" chair. They were the Grandfather's assistants, and the Grandfather wished to detain Malanka in order to delay the spring. But

[96] The Royal Purple's celebration is officially called 'Smorg Perogy Party.'

[97] An interesting example of alternative source of information was the informative seminar and workshop, which, according to Sheryl Balay, was organized approximately in 1991 in Ardrosson, by the Alberta Ukrainian Dance Association. According to Sheryl, the purpose of the meeting was to let the dance teachers learn more about the Malanka tradition and encourage their creativity in this area of Ukrainian folklore. The activities included a lecture, video materials and discussion.

Figure 15. Malanka Stewart presents a gift to Vasyl. The Malanka show at St. Andrew's.

these evil actions were witnessed by the Moon and Stars (little girls) and they summoned animals for help. Teddy Bear (a man with a Teddy bear on his head) came and some "bears" from the audience (several men were given masks) joined him to rescue Malanka – they behaved playfully, imitating bear walk. They were ready to attack the "dungeon" but the snowflakes made a snowstorm (with tin stripes) and the bears retreated. Then farm animals were summoned: Imperial Rooster and his team – rabbit, pig, coyote (?!), elephant (?!) and others – but they did not succeed either. Then came Vasyl, a woman dressed in Cossack costume, with a magic shovel (from Canadian Tire) and made "his" way to the "dungeon." The snowflakes were tenderly "shoveled" away. Vasyl approached Grandfather and after exchange of remarks kicked him away to cheers from the audience. The rescued Malanka presented Vasyl a "gift with a signature gift card." "Happy New Year!" - exclaimed the narrator.[98]

St. Andrew's parish has a long tradition of Malanka performance. Michael Zukiwsky (the prime informant) has been involved in preparation of Malanka for a number of years and all he knows about the Malanka skit came from this experience. In the eighties he helped to organize Malanka celebrations in the Faculty Club of the University of Alberta, and then he was instrumental for staging St. Andrew's celebrations. In the above-described performance he played the role of Malanka Stewart.[99]

The performance shows quite a simple plot and structure – minimum demands are put on the actors: the gestures do not seem to be prescribed and the acting mostly consists

[98] Video – Malanka at St. Andrew's hall.
[99] Interview with Michael Zukiwsky.

of parading and showing off to the best of the character's ability. The idea of improvisation and having fun seems to be dominant here. Since the action takes place in the middle of the floor there is no strict border between the actors and the audience – at one point some people from the audience join the action of putting masks on (bears). The actors do not speak – the narrator directs the action into the storyline.

It is interesting to note that the audience was involved both actively and passively. A good example of the first is the above-mentioned "bears," which took the masks and rushed to support the action. The second form of participation was applause and cries of admiration or disapproval toward the main characters, which were explicitly orchestrated by the narrator.

Mr. Zukiwsky helps to explain some aspects of the performance. Since the performance was neither polished nor even rehearsed in advance – to the point that the characters did not even know the exact story-line, the narrator assumed a central organizing role and actually told the performers what to do next. The story was literally unfolding "here and now" and the success of it relied on improvisational abilities of the leading characters (most of them had some experience with the skit before). This peculiarity added spontaneity to the performance making the play similar to a game.

The performance operated on two levels: on the one hand it was a fairy-tale masquerade and play intended largely for children; on the other hand, the narrator's speech, which touched the realm of political satire and "inside" humour, was appreciated mostly by the adult audience.

The elements of political satire are expressed in the identity of the main characters – the Grandfather (Clinton) and Malanka (Martha Stewart). These figures have no

precedent in St. Andrew's Malanka tradition – the idea came from the script writer for that year – a non-Ukrainian high school science teacher Jack Geldhart who wrote the script on the basis of Mr. Zukiwsky's outline of the Malanka plot. President Clinton was chosen to represent the Old Year because he was a well-known political figure and he was leaving his post; Martha Stewart was chosen because of her popular image.

As for the Clinton character, it was interesting to see how the actor tended to create an inclusive, stereotypical image. The cigar as an element of the costume is not so much associated with Bill Clinton's personality but rather with a stereotypical image of higher authority politicians and the phenomenon of nicotinophobia.

The performance, though, did not push the political satire farther than the humorous mask of the American president. Most of the jokes explored the "modernizing motif" – juxtaposing the fairy tale world and the sharply contrasting present day reality. Especially popular topics were contemporary technology and media jargon. The "dungeon" was called "a minimum security facility" and, instead of the shovel used by Vasyl, the narrator suggested using a snow-blower. References to the internet and popular commercials were also made.

As we could see from the description, the whole plot evolved around the personified confrontation between the Old Year (Grandfather) and New Year (Malanka/Vasyl) with triumph of the latter. The use of binary oppositions helps to reveal various metaphors incorporated into the plot:

Old Year	vs.	New Year
Winter	vs.	Spring
Old man	vs.	Young Vasyl

Evil vs. Good

Natural forces vs. Living creatures

The Malanka skit 2002 in St. John's parish was developed and organized by Lesia Pohorecky, who had been involved in St. John's Malanka celebrations for almost twenty years. She was a teacher involved in a Sherwood Park Ukrainian bilingual program. Lesia explained that this particular skit was an attempt to do something "a bit different" compared what it used to be for years. New characters, such as *Did Moroz* [Grandfather Frost] were introduced and the plot was slightly changed.

For this skit Lesia did not research "if anything was right or wrong" because Malanka skits varied from village to village in Ukrainian tradition - "there was no wrong skit – you're just entertaining people."[100] This idea of traditions existing in diverse local variations provided Lesia with a liberating view on the performance. She does not feel obliged to follow any ethnographic accounts or to suppress her own creativity. Reportedly, however, they followed ethnographic sources in previous years.

The skit opened with a presentation of the characters, who came one after another to the centre of the floor. First, Dido and Baba (Dido was dressed in a *kozhukh*, a Ukrainian leather embroidered overcoat, and Baba wore a kerchief on her head), they were presented as wise people who knew answers for every question. Then animals came – the Horse, the Bear and the Goat (the costume covered all the body

Figure 16. Malanka characters pose for picture: Horse, Gypsies, Did Moroz. The Malanka at St. John's.

[100] Interview with Lesia Pohorecky.

with a helmet featuring the animals' head) – each of them was said to possess "special powers" on New Year's Eve. They showed off, jumped, clasped and saluted the audience. Then Gypsies (they wore long skirts, Ukrainian blouses and beads) entered imitating Gypsy dance movements. The Gypsies were followed by the Peddlers (girls in black coats with hats) – they displayed "items" hidden in their coats, ostensibly for sale. A policeman walked in a proud manner, wearing a green uniform. Then Angels appeared on the floor (a group of little girls clad in white dresses with wings). After this the narrator announced the entry of Malanka and "she" came to the floor (a tall, strongly built man in traditional Ukrainian woman's clothes with a wreath on his head and a kerchief on his shoulders). She was presented as a daughter of Dido and Baba. The Malanka playfully greeted the audience, ogled and flirted with men from the audience.

The action started when Did Moroz (an anthropomorphic incarnation of eternal winter) came, froze everybody around and kidnapped Malanka to the Ice Palace. Then the hero Vasyl came and, with help of the Angels, got to the Ice Palace to fight Did Moroz. In the course of the battle Did Moroz froze himself. Malanka was liberated and everybody rejoiced.[101]

The story-line of the play is very similar to the one in St. Andrew's. However, if we pay attention to details and context we notice important differences. Among the characters we see such traditional figures as the Bear, the Goat, the Horse. There are also Gypsies and Peddlers – the last ones are none other than transformed Jews.[102]

The narrated presentation of the costumed participants is a good example of what I would call "explicit symbolism." Every animal figure was described not only by its "character" but also in terms of suggesting ancient pagan mythology. For example, the narrator announced that the Goat symbolized fertility, energy and prosperity. More than that, this symbolism was readily applicable – people who danced with the Goat during the evening were promised prosperity. Likewise, having a drink with Vasyl was said to bring luck in the new year.

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[101] Video - Malanka in St. John's hall.

[102] The presence of the peddler characters hints at the character of Jew that was once more common in Malanka performances. In the contemporary Ukrainian community, this character is tending to disappear.

Caroling used to be a part of the St.John's skit for a long time (this year, however, there was a lack of qualified singers among the performers).

The description in terms of symbolism obviously went beyond ethnographic accounts and reflected some form of anthropological analysis, which Lesia derived from various sources. As a teacher and Malanka organizer, Lesia is well-acquainted with publications on the Malanka tradition including scholarly literature and popular accounts found in periodicals. Lesia told me that she kept a file of materials about Malanka.

Some performers were also described by their role during the evening - the Policeman was supposed to keep order and watch those who "did not have fun." Almost all of the characters had their own "tricks" to do during the presentation part and after the show. Peddlers tried to sell little things to the guests and "cheat" them, Gypsies went from guest to guest doing "fortune-telling", Baba gave away candies. Similar to the traditional house to house performances described in chapter one, these activities were a game enjoyed by both sides: the Peddlers and the guests engaged into disputes bargaining for goods, while Gypsy girls amazed individual guests with their "magical" insights (they were given some information beforehand!).

The "Peddlers" or "Businessmen" deserve special attention. As Lesia told me, years ago those were Jews with all the attributes, but the question of political correctness ("we don't want to knock other nationalities") made the organizers re-consider the character and turn it into a more "neutral" Peddler. Some time later Lesia proposed a subtle way of revealing the character's identity: the Peddlers entered the floor accompanied with sounds of "Fiddler on the Roof" – the famous musical by Jerry Bock and Sheldon Harnick.[103] It is an interesting example of richness, flexibility and great communicative potential that the Malanka skit can propose.

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[103] Interview with Lesia Pohorecky.

The Did Moroz character has no precedent in the St. John's tradition – according to Lesia he was just a variation of generic evil character, who kidnaps Malanka and eventually gets defeated by Vasyl. In this role they once had a Serpent (the motif was taken from a folk tale) and some other figures, but it was never a Devil or *Chort* since the organizers tried to avoid any references to demonic forces in a church celebration.

The character of Malanka in Ukrainian folk tradition developed along two different lines: Malanka as a shy decent girl (a lean, feminine looking man) in a couple with Vasyl (see the Malanka play 1922 above) and flirtatious, lazy and awkward Malanka (a masculine and strong fellow). Kurochkin's study suggests that the first type reflects wedding motifs in the ritual of Malanka, while the second type is related to the carnival paradigm with its idea of inversion.[104] In the present version the organizers presented the second type.

Lesia's memories about the Malanka celebration at St. John's date back to the mid seventies, when the celebration was an "adult only" event and the Malanka skit used to be different. According to Lesia the participants stayed in their costumes until midnight, then joined the guests in a circle and sang *Mnohiie Lita* [Many Years] to Vasyl and Vasylyna and then they lifted and physically removed the Malanka from the auditorium, which was generally understood as "carrying out the Old Year".[105] The episode is quite remarkable – it clearly shows that Malanka herself was interpreted as a personification of the Old Year, rather than an incarnation of spring like it was in the previous skits. It is possible to suggest, though, that this interpretation of Malanka is closer to some Ukrainian traditions because according to the church calendar St. Melania is the last day

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[104] Kurochkin, *Ukrainski narodni obriady,* 122.
[105] Interview with Lesia Pohorecky, 118.

of the year, while St. Basil fell on January 1, – therefore they can be used as good metaphors for the old and new year respectively.

The St. John's example provides a good illustration how the Malanka skit evolved within one local tradition. In this case it is possible to talk about evolution, not sudden change, since, there was no rupture in the parish's tradition. The "innovation" came smoothly – Lesia herself was surprised to realize that Malanka used to signify something different from what she does now.

A third Malanka skit was organized in the local Ukrainian Youth Unity Hall on January 13, 2001. The performers were 18-22 years old. The characters played by male actors were the following: Malanka, Koza, Dido, and Death; the characters played by female actors – Vasyl, Policeman, Gypsy, Baba and Devil. Like in the previous skits, Babo, Dido, Malanka and Vasyl wore traditional Ukrainian dress. In addition, Policeman wore a Mountie uniform, Death wore long black cover with a hood and a "skull" mask, Devil was clad in red and had little horns. The action took place on the dance floor in front of the stage. The actors did not speak – the story was unfolded by two narrators from the stage.

The following is a brief summary of the action (narrated in both English and Ukrainian in turns):

Baba and Dido decided to prepare a surprise party [birthday/name day party?] for their daughter Malanka and invited guests: Vasyl – Malanka's boyfriend, Gypsy who was not really welcomed but had to be invited, and Policeman – who was supposed to keep order. Meanwhile, Malanka was out pasturing her Goat. The evil characters – Death and Devil – took advantage of the situation: Devil kidnapped Malanka and Death made Goat die. Dido and Baba were worried and sent Vasyl and Policeman to search for Malanka. Policeman found a trace of Malanka – her lost kerchief. Gypsy was asked to assist in search with the help of her magic. Gypsy used her magic "sweeper-picker-upper" and

discovered that Malanka was in captivity. The characters decided to decide Malanka's fate through a dance competition. One by one all the competitors were eliminated except for the most skillful ones – Vasyl and the Devil. Finally they started the last contest and the Devil lost balance and fell, bringing the victory to Vasyl. Malanka had been rescued but her Goat was still under the Death's spell. The characters asked the audience to wake Goat up and with this help, a miracle occurred – Goat was brought to life. Everybody rejoiced.[106]

Although the plot of the drama has many features in common with the previously analyzed performances, it went further in its comical interpretation and kitsch. In St. Andrew's Malanka the comical "modernization" was part of the adult-oriented narrator's comments. In this case it was the dominant motif of the action. The context in which the characters acted had been comically "up-dated." Baba and Dido organized a "surprise party", Gypsy used a "sweeper-picker-upper" as a "magic mirror", Dido played video games that he got as a Christmas gift, Policeman was equipped with a cell phone. Finally the ultimate battle took the form of the dance contest, which unfolded to the tunes of modern popular music.

The cast of actors had some peculiarities. The evil side was represented by two characters – the Devil and Death. The presence of the Devil (*Chort*) as a character should be noted – it was not allowed in some church celebrations, but was featured in this performance. Goat was the only animal character in the play, and this fact contrasts with the number of animals in the previous performances. This situation probably reflected the different orientations of the organizers – in the first two skits, with many children in the audiences, the animals amused and provoked laughter by their uninhibited behaviour. In the Youth Centre, however, children were not a targeted audience so the animals did not play a significant role.

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[106] Video – Malanka at the Ukrainian Youth Unity Centre.

The Malanka rescue operation was connected New Year magic. If Malanka is not rescued by midnight, the whole year would be "misery and misfortune." At the same time no confrontation between the Old Year and the New Year is articulated, no contest between winter and spring as we saw before.

So how can those differences be explained? It reflected the world of the people who were involved in the production. In the case of St. Andrew's Malanka, adults played the leading role in the performance. The St. John's performance was directed by an adult, in the Youth Centre everything was done by adolescents and young adults, mostly university and college students. They represented a new generation of Malanka directors and actors.

What are their interests and priorities?

First of all, it is "having fun" says Orysia Huk, one of the organizers of this celebration. It is as much a performance for the audience as a special way to release artistic potential in acting, dancing and witty humour.[107]

On the other hand, it is an interesting and original interpretation of the cultural heritage, delivered by the young generation of Ukrainian Canadians. The noteworthy feature of the performance is the attempt, though a humorous one, to relate their Ukrainian heritage to the mainstream youth culture and everyday reality they live in. It is an attempt to connect two different experiences, one originating in their families, cultivated through bilingual programs, various Ukrainian organizations, the other originating from broader social contacts. It is the gap between these two spheres that provides grounds for humorous juxtaposition in the skit.

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[107] Interview with Orysia Huk.

It should be mentioned that the organizers of the skit were University students, some of whom had taken also took classes in Ukrainian folklore and therefore are familiar with Ukrainian calendar customs from an academic perspective as well.

The performance organized in the Ukrainian National Federation's Hall in 2001 took place in the middle of the evening and lasted ten minutes. The Malanka cast consisted of five characters: Malanka - a man dressed in a woman's dress with a kerchief on his shoulders, a wreath and a large fake breast; Vasyl – a woman dressed in a man's suit with a hat and moustache; a Monk clad in a black gown with a hood; the Old Year – dressed as an old man wearing an overcoat with a white beard and a cane; the New Year – a girl dressed in a Cossack dress. During the performance the actors spoke Ukrainian.

Malanka, Vasyl and the Monk came to the floor singing *Dobryi Vechir, Pane* [Good evening, Sir] – a Ukrainian New Year song (*shchedrivka*). Malanka rang a small bell, which "she" held in her hand. Malanka showed off walking in front of the audience, while Vasyl and the Monk described "her" qualities in the form of short mocking verses (recited in Ukrainian). The comical discrepancies either occurred in the verses themselves or in the way words clearly contradicted the way Malanka looked and behaved.

Nasha Malanka harnesen'ka,	[Our Malanka is beautiful]
Iak konopel'ka tonesen'ka	[She is thin like a hemp plant]
Vasyl pishov na zhnyva,	[Vasyl is gone harvesting,]
A Malanka zapyla,	[Meanwhile Malanka got drunk,]
Vasyl' robyt' unochi,	[Vasyl works at night,]
A Malanka na pechi.	[Meanwhile Malanka lies on an oven]

The Old New Year entered the performing space. Malanka questioned him whether the year was spent productively. He retorted that Malanka should first give order to her house and pay back her debts. Malanka took her bag, on pretending giving away money to people in the audience. The Old Year said good bye to the guests and left the floor. Malanka bragged about her beauty. Among other remarks she asked Vasyl to buy her a fur-coat with air conditioning. The New Year entered. Malanka ogled "him" on finding him "a nice boy". The action finished with good wishes to everybody and singing *Dobryi Vechir.*[108]

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[108] Video - Malanka at the Ukrainian National Federation's hall.

The performance was organized by a group of amateur dramatists affiliated with UNO hall, and was built on the motifs of traditional mocking Malanka songs.[109] This performance stands out in comparison with those described above due to two peculiarities: first, it is the only play in which the actors speak, second, there is no standard story line about Malanka being captured and rescued. Unfortunately, the person who directed the performance was not accessible for interview, so only information from secondary sources is available. In her interview Lesia Petriw, who took over the amateur activities and directed UNO's performance in year 2002, was concerned with the problem of preservation of the tradition. She mentioned that their performance was based a solid literature research (she did not identify the sources). As for other Malanka skits she had chance to see, her opinion was that sometimes they went too far turning the ritual into a ridiculous and vulgar show.[110]

Malanky in east central Alberta, such as the towns of Andrew, St. Michael and Radway, also organized costumed performances as part of the evening. The author did not have chance to interview the organizers of the celebrations, except for Morris Wenger, who was instrumental for technical preparation of the Malanka in Radway. Therefore, the information on those performances is based largely on the video materials and it does not allow to capture larger contexts of the events and individual influences that had impact on the production of the shows. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to notice one profound difference in the performances compared to those organized in the city. None of three celebrations had a skit. What was presented can be described as mummers'

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[109] Oleksa Voropai, *Zvychai nashoho narodu* (Munich, 1956), 195-7.

parade, or "Malanka dance" according to Morris Wenger.[111] The structure of all three shows was very similar, the following is a description of the show in St. Michael:

The Malanka performance in St Michael's parish hall began at 11:30 p.m. with a speech by an organizer, which outlined the history of Malanka. The introduction is almost identical to the explanations provided by Lena Gulutsan (see chapter 1): the custom is rooted in the pre-Christian Ukrainian culture, and the characters represent spirits who get activated during the mysterious time of New Year' Eve.[112]

Figure 17. From left to right: Engineer, Jew, Horse, musician, Musician-Jew, another musician, Policeman. Malanka in St. Michael, Alberta.

Accompanied by the tunes of Ukrainian Christmas songs, the characters entered the floor, individually or in pairs: Musicians (Jews?) with black wigs, beards or moustaches, Old Couple, Old Year clad in white with a scythe, Malanka – a female actor with a kerchief and a mask, Bride and Groom, Bear, Horse, Goat, Gypsy, Policeman, Jew wearing a small black hat, Engineer in a orange robe and a hard hat, Nurse in a white gown carrying New Year Babe in a wheelbarrow, Devil clad in red with a tail. All the characters wore plastic masks. They paraded round the floor – they greeted the audience, showed off and, in some cases, interacted with each other and with the guests. Jew proposed extra-large size underwear to women in a front row; Devil treated his trident as it were a guitar, then as a hockey stick; Nurse tried to catch Baby and put him back into the wheelbarrow, etc. All the actions unfolded simultaneously. The master of ceremonies announced a dance and invited the guests to dance with "the cast." After three dances the show ended with the presentation of actors – after being called and identified each character came to the floor and took his or her mask off.

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[110] Interview with Lesia Petriw.
[111] Interview with Morris Wenger.
[112] Most probably the master of the ceremonies in St. Michael used the Lena Gulutan's report.

Compared to the Malanka presentations in Edmonton the show is less unified: there is no story-line and the show seems to be a chaotic, burlesque, carnival type event rather than a theatrical play. Some other features can be pointed out.

First, in contrast with the performances in Edmonton, the Malanka personage appears to be less significant, it is merely one of the characters on the floor: her costume and behaviour were not extraordinarily eye-catching and the masters of ceremonies did not present the character in any special way. It is worth to note that, unlike in the city, the role was played by a female actor. The grotesque and carnivalesque Malanka at St. Michael was much more evidently performed by the tall strongly built Bride (a male actor): during the parade "she" dwarfed the Groom by "her" composure, kept on adjusting her fake breast; later "she" easily lifted the Groom in her arms – the same gesture was part of the performances at St. John's and the Ukrainian Youth Centre.

Figure 18. Malanka dance. Radway, Alberta.

Second, masking as a way to disguise identity seems to play more important role in the small town versions: virtually all the characters covered their faces with masks, the figures 13-15 show various types of masks used by the actors. This idea of disguising and guessing the identity of the actors links the performance to the Newfoundland tradition of Christmas mumming with its game of recognizing the identity of mummers.[113] In spite of

[113] Melvin M. Firestone, "Mummers and Strangers in Northern Newfoundland," in *Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland: Essays in Anthropology, Folklore, and History*,edited by H. Halpert and G. M. Story (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 64-75.

these differences the urban and small town versions of the Malanka show are not entirely dissimilar. The presentation of the characters at St John's parish can be regarded as the mummers' parade in miniature, and the dance of the mummers with the guests afterwards is exactly what the characters in St. Michael did.

As we can see, in the Canadian context, the form and meaning of the Malanka show changed substantially. The masked performance lost its significance as the core activity of the evening: in some cases it disappeared entirely, in other cases, it became "part of the program" - 10-20 minute humorous show. The modern versions of the Malanka show in Alberta demonstrate variety in their forms. In Edmonton, most shows developed into a play/skit with a characteristic plot centred on the kidnapping of Malanka and the idea of confrontation between spring and winter. In the small towns of east central Alberta the show was organized as a mummers' parade.

However, even with the new veneer, the modern edition of Malanka has preserved some features of the original folk custom. These include many of the characters, masks and cross-dressing, and also the carnival spirit and interaction between participants for audience. In this respect the show did not become "frozen" and did not fully enter the sphere of formal drama with its canons and rehearsed polishness. It was often rough, not thoroughly prepared, at times the action was directed on the spot. It often relied on spontaneity and improvisational skills. Obvious blunders of the actors did not spoil the performance but to the contrary – made it more hilarious.

As before, the performance involves various levels of communication like gesture dance, acting, dress etc. Speech seemed to become a less important medium – this

privilege in three of four cases was delegated to the narrator, while the actors themselves, even those presenting human characters, did not speak. One possible explanation is that pantomime does not rely on a language and, as such, it is more universal means of communication in a multi-lingual environment.

The change in form has been accompanied by new meanings of the performance in the urban Canadian setting. One of new aspects is educational. The Malanka shows in St. Andrew's and St. John's became, to some degree, children-oriented shows with a great emphasis on animal characters. Children and teenagers were the actors and a large part of the audience. Most of the organizers regard Malanka skit as primarily educational activity, which combines both performative arts and essential cultural knowledge of Ukrainian folk traditions. "Learning through enjoyable personal experience" as Lesia Poherecky put it. As such, Malanka has been incorporated into Ukrainian bilingual schools programs.[114]

In his analysis of the pioneer customs, Robert Klymasz notes that the modern Malanka has much to do with communication of ethnic identity. As the interview with the organizers showed, Malanka is regarded as part of Ukrainian cultural heritage and an instrument for ethnic promotion. The modern Malanka is not a closed community event as it used to be in the early period. The readiness to welcome more guests to the event is sometimes limited only by the capacities of the halls. The organizers see Malanka as a good way to promote Ukrainian culture.

The organization and selection of elements in the contemporary celebrations reveal this exoteric orientation of the presentation. First, the story-line is narrated in English or translated into English. Second, there is a strong emphasis on pagan roots of

the traditions – this emphasis is reflected in the plot and the information given in the fliers – which has already become a fashionable tool of ethnic promotion.[115] Third, the symbolism is made explicit in the performance: in the traditional Malanka this symbolism was implicit and much more complex, it was a cultural metaphor that could not be articulated without loss of innumerable layers of meaning. Finally, the format of the show itself reflects its exoteric orientation – the show is limited to a short period of time and intended for more passive audience-spectators, who came to "learn something about Ukrainian traditions" and be entertained.

On the other hand, the presentation is also directed inwardly to those who organize the show and take part as actors. For them it is an opportunity for self-expression and interpretation of their cultural inheritance.

The contemporary performances illustrated that Malanka is not "a relic" custom, it evolves and every generation brings something new to it, interprets it in its own way. The pace of modern life is felt in the celebration and references to the contemporary reality seem to be welcomed: "A little bit of old, a little bit of new", - most of the organizers would subscribe to this recipe of successful Malanka, articulated by Lesia.

The characteristic plot, which features the struggle between antagonists – the Old Year and the New one with inevitable triumph of the later – allows us to regard the show as a rite of passage. In this case the symbolical fight is close to the idea of sympathetic magic when some symbolical action is performed to ensure a positive outcome. Along with wax fortune-telling at Hromada's Malanka it belongs to the sphere of New Year magic and can be viewed as a specifically Ukrainian analogue to the midnight countdown

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[114] Interview with Lesia Pohorecky.

ritual. "If Malanka is not rescued, the whole year will be one of misery and misfortune."[116] In the folk culture it was "*vinshuvannia*" (magical formulas-wishes for prosperity of the household) and revival of Goat as part of the in-house game that played the role of sympathetic rituals. In the contemporary versions of Malanka it seems more typically to be the "Malanka rescue mission." The association of the antagonists with winter, evil, death on the one hand, while the protogonists are connected with good, life, spring on the other, only reinforce the power of the ritual. This ritual function of the performance is a new interpretation of the old theme.

As we can see, today the Malanka show still plays an important role in the celebration, however, many social functions have changed. The modern performance is about preservation of the heritage, interpretation of ethnic identity, education and a rite of passage. All these functions inevitably reflect the social reality faced by the Ukrainian community in Canada.

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[115] Sabina Magliocco, "Coordinates of Power and Performance: Festivals as Sites of (Re)presentation and Reclamation in Sardinia," *Ethnologies* 1 (2001): 167-188.
[116] Video - Malanka at the Ukrainian Youth Unity Centre.

Chapter 4:

MALANKA AS A VENTURE: ORGANIZATIONAL ROUTINES

In addition to being entertainment and part of the ethnic heritage, Malanka often has another, rather technical, but nevertheless important function – to serve as a fund-raiser. Considering the problems of management allows us to see the context of the event, which inevitably includes planning and preparation. It also gives us an insight as to how such a large scale project is carried out and how community cooperation is implemented.

Malanka celebrations are usually organized on the principle of self-financing: the venture is expected to provide a good financial return so that the organizational expenses are covered and at least a marginal profit is obtained. If these conditions are not met the celebration can be in danger of being terminated.

The importance of the financial aspect is highlighted by two cases when fortunes of a Malanka celebration was influenced by the financial situation. In 2001, the organizers of the St. John's Malanka cancelled the event because not enough tickets were sold a few days prior to the celebration: the event was not likely to cover the expenses.

In the other case it was Na Zdorovyia Bar, which was experiencing financial difficulties in 2001 and was already on the edge of bankruptcy. According to the owner, that was the reason the celebration was "less organized" in comparison with the previous year. There were no meals included into the ticket price, no table clothes, no substantial promotion campaign. That is why fewer people attended.[117]

In the process of fieldwork it became clear that not all of the organizers are willing to discuss the topic – in some cases they were not in the position to provide reliable information on the matter, in other cases they felt it would be inappropriate to

discuss money issues in connection to Malanka. "We are a non-profit organization" – was the answer of one of them. In respect for this position these questions were skipped in a number of interviews.

Nevertheless, some informants were very helpful – the organizers from the Ukrainian Youth Association, the Ukrainian Centre, Na Zdorovya Bar and Royal Purple were willing to discuss financial issues.

According to the centrality of the goal of fundrising, the celebrations can be divided into three groups. The concert in West Edmonton Mall and the Hromada celebration had the least monetary incentive – the latter was an informal private gathering, while the former involved a craft sale as part of the program. The events organized by Ukrainian parishes and Ukrainian organizations were fund-raising activities based on extensive volunteer support. Finally Na Zdorovyia and Longriders Saloon were business enterprises, which by definition aimed to maximize profit.

As any event of this scale, Malanka require a long and advance preparation. In the Youth Unity Association, Malanka is the responsibility of a special board, which starts its work in July-August and has monthly meetings of the members. Every member is in charge of one area of preparation – including are ticket distribution, food supply and cultural program. All of the board members and those who assist in preparation or participate in the program work voluntarily. The only hired persons are the chef, musicians and occasional short-staff positions.

Since the tickets for the celebration in the Youth Unity Centre are on high demand, they are distributed according to a priority system: first members of the organization are notified, then the rest of the tickets – approximately 30% - are offered to

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[117] Personal interview with Lisa MacDonald, March 20, 2002, Edmonton.

the general public. As Orysia Huk noted, the tickets are usually sold out within a two week period in November and a long waiting list is accumulated by January.

The high demand for tickets made some people within the organization think of expanding the scale of the celebration by welcoming more guests – Orysia herself is strongly in favor of this idea. However, the capacity of the hall is limited to 350 persons. Moving to a larger hall is being considered as one of the options.

Orysia outlined a few priorities for the celebration. Quality of the entertainment, which includes the interior decorations, live music, food and the program, is an important concern. This year, she said, a decision was made to hire a new band to satisfy the taste of the younger audience, which make up the majority of the guests – mostly college and university students. On the other hand, profit is very important as well. All the profits, around $5,000 – 7,000, are intended for various school programs and annual summer camps.

Orysia found it necessary to add that maximizing income is not the ultimate goal. A decrease in income, most of which comes from liquor sales, merely means that the guests drank less, which is not necessarily something to worry about.[118]

A more detailed picture of the total financial calculations is available for the Ukrainian Centre. Edna Chmiliar, the musical librarian and Malanka manager, provided the original balance sheets of expenditures and income for years 1999 to 2001.

The following is the balance sheet for year 2001:

Attendence - 276			
Income		***Expenses***	
Deposit 1 Dec 29/00	$1720.00	Hall Rent	$300.00
Deposit 2 Jan 8/01	$1330.00	Elsie	
Sub Total	$3050.00	catering 50 hrs x $9.00	$450.00
		Groceries	$1003.24
Liquor Sales	$2394.72	Marcia	
Cheque Cashed Ken Denega	$103.12	catering 50 hrs x $9.00	$450.00
Silver from Liquor Sales	$25.15	groceries	$53.61
Beverage Sale	$31.00	Kitchen staff 7x $40.00	$280.00
Food Sales	$20.00	Liquor Purchase	$989.09
Bottle Returns	$20.35	Bartenders 2 x $75.00	$150.00
Float	$320.00	Helper 1 x $50.00	$50
Malanka Deposit Balance	$1385.00	Programmed Promotion	$28.86
Total	**$7,349.34**	Cimarrons Dance Band	$650.00
		Cimarrons Booking	$100.00
		Juices	$78.98
		Orange Juice	$25.10
		Float	$320.00
		Maintenance	$180.00
		Ice	$15
		Total	**$5121.88**
Income	**$7,349.34**		
Expenses	$5,121.88		
Balance	**$2,227.46**		

Table 2.

The expenses show that the Ukrainian Centre's Malanka also relies on volunteers, although the key positions that require competence are paid.

Volunteer work was crucial for the organization of the evening. In the article "Putting a Price on Culture," Cynthia Thoroski and Pauline Greenhill discuss the problems of volunteer labour at a multi-cultural festival in Winnipeg. The authors show that volunteer efforts, which are often taken for granted, are in fact priceless and "non-renewable" resources, on which the festival relies on.[119] The interviewed volunteers involved in Malanka were proud of what they do – they continued an ethnic tradition and

[118] Interview with Orysia Huk.

helped to share it with their neighbours, they displayed the proverbial Ukrainian hospitality and helped people to have "good time" and pleasant memories; they helped to reunite the community.

Besides coordinating work, the most time-consuming and physically demanding process is food preparation. It usually starts a week before the evening. It is usually the local women's organization which takes the initiative in this field.

Under the circumstances of financial pressure and the large number of Malanka celebrations in Edmonton there existed a competition for the customers. Edna Chmiliar noted that their traditional guests and even members of the Centre tended to go to other celebrations. She thought it was a natural process and it had nothing to do with feeling of dissatisfaction - "people just need some change."[120]

In order to attract potential guests, the organizers used various promotion strategies. The Youth Unity Association's organizers used TV advertisement and letters with posters sent to partner organizations. Lisa MacDonald advertised through local TV, e-mail, Ukrainian programs on radio and fliers. The Ukrainian Centre organizers posted a big board next to the nearby driveway. Perhaps the most efficient method of promotion was used by Edna Chmiliar: she used a list of guests from the previous year, called each one and asked whether they would like to book tickets for this year events.[121]

Another strategy that was used by the organizers to reduce competition was to schedule the celebration a week before or after January 14. For example, Malanka in Radway, which traditionally had a large number of guests from the city, was held on

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[119] Cynthia Thoroski, and Pauline Greenhill, "Putting a Price on Culture: Ethnic Organizations, Volunteers, and the Marketing of Multicultural Festivals," *Ethnicities* 1 (2001): 202-204.
[120] Interview with Edna Chmiliar, March 22, 2002.
[121] Interview with Edna Chmiliar, March 22, 2002.

January 9, 2001, while the Ukrainian National Federation and Na Zdorovya bar scheduled their celebrations on January 20.

Still another strategy was to find one's own marketing niche in contrast to others. The Ukrainian Youth Unity Association, and especially Jasper Lounge celebration, presented a banquet style of Malanka. In contrast, the Na Zdorovyia Bar, according to Lisa MacDonald, tried to promote "the casual in every respect" Malanka (in the fliers in was advertised as "Simply Malanka") in direct opposition to the "fancy" and "expensive" events mentioned above. Some, like St. Andrew's parish, seek to promote a family celebration.

Conclusions

The Ukrainian New Year's Eve celebration, Malanka, in Edmonton is a unique manifestation of cultural and community life. Its origins can be traced to Ukrainian folk culture, though in Canada it has been subject to numerous changes: in the course of decades it was adjusted, modified, abandoned and re-discovered on new foundations.

In Edmonton, Malanka is largely a revival phenomenon, but still intricately connected to the traditional custom through the experiences of its first organizers. A notable revival event in the early seventies took place at the University's Faculty Club, utilizing the creative efforts of some active and university-educated community members. A modified version of folk ritual and vivid elements of the Ukrainian Christmas season were combined with the presentation of Ukrainian performative and visual arts and put into the context of a modern high-class style of entertainment. In contrast with traditional custom, it was an event intended for outsiders as much as for community members. The educative function was clearly important since insiders in the urban community also did not know the tradition. It became a symbol of Ukrainian-ness. This format became successful and became a model for most of the local celebrations in the city.

The analysis of the contemporary celebrations shows that the model was not blindly copied but adopted with individual adjustments or significant alterations. In some cases the program was simplified, in other cases it was enriched with new design ideas, rituals and activities. Notable changes can be seen in variations of the Malanka show. Some local celebrations did not develop this part of the program, while those who did develop the performance often gave it an original interpretation. The nature of interpretation, the content and style of presentation, reflected various social functions –

entertainment, education and identity construction. The celebration also is a good example of how various symbols of ethnic identity are used and intertwined with each other.

As fund-raising projects, the contemporary Malanka celebrations inevitably included consumer orientation, promotion campaigns, expansion urges, some degree of standardization, the use of paid labour. This emphasis created competition among the local communities.

At present the celebration of Malanka has become a strong local tradition, an integral part of community life and the modern calendar cycle.

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Appendix A: List of Interviews

Recorded personal interview with Cheryl Balay, April 30, 2002, Edmonton.

Recorded personal interview with Edna Chmiliar, March 22, 2002, Edmonton.

Recorded personal interview with Edna Chmiliar, March 20, 2001, Edmonton.

Recorded personal interview with Khrystia Chomiak, March 22, 2002, Edmonton.

Recorded group interview with Larysa Durda and Ron Bundziak, March 29, 2002, Edmonton.

Recorded group interview with Lena Gulutsan and Anna Zwozdesky, June 14, 2002, Edmonton.

Recorded personal interview with Orysia Huk, March 15, 2002, Edmonton.

Recorded personal interview with Lisa MacDonald, March 20, 2002, Edmonton.

Recorded personal interview with Olga Matvichuk, March 28, 2002, Edmonton.

Recorded personal interview with Lesia Petriw, June 16, 2002, Edmonton.

Recorded personal interview with Lesia Pohorecky, March 28, 2002, Edmonton.

Recorded personal interview with Paul Sembaliuk, June 11, 2002, Edmonton.

Recorded personal interview with Morris Wenger, March 23, 2001, Radway, AB.

Recorded personal interview with George Yopyk, May 12, 2002, Edmonton.

Recorded personal interview with Michael Zukiwsky, April 5, 2002, Edmonton.

Appendix B: List of Video Recordings of Malanka 2001 Project

1. St. Michael, AB, January 13, 2001, by Brian Cherwick.
2. AUUC, January 13, by Monica Jensen and Vita Holoborodko.
3. St. Andrew's, January 12, 2001, by Sogu Hong and Vita Holoborodko.
4. Na Zdorovia, January 20, 2001, by Anna Kuranicheva.
5. Longriders, January 14, 2001, by Brian Cherwick and Monica Jensen.
6. St. John's, January 11, 2002, by Andriy Chernevych.
7. West Edmonton Mall, January 13, 2001, by Nadia Foty and Monica Jensen.
8. St. Michael's, January 13, 2001, by Natalka Shostak.
9. Royal Purple, January 13, 2001, by Sogu Hong and Sergey Morgovsky.
10. Vegreville, January 13, 2001, by Andriy Nahachewsky.
11. Radway, January 12, 2001, by Andriy Chernevych.
12. SUM, January 13, 2001, by Andriy Chernevych.
13. Red Deer, January 20, 2001, by Brian Cherwick.
14. Andrew, January 13, 2001, by Natalka Shostak.
15. Hromada, January 14, 2001, by Darusia Antoniuk.
16. Fort MacMurray, January 18, 2001, by Anna Kuranicheva.
17. UNO, January 20, 2001, by Andriy Chernevych and Vita Holoborodko.

Appendix C: Questionnaire

For how long has your community been organizing Malanka?
How many years have you been the organizer?
Can you describe your responsibilities?

Can you explain what the word "Malanka" means?
Please, list three or four things that Malanka celebration can't go without?

How long in advance did you start the preparations?
How did you choose the day for the Malanka? What were the considerations?

Did you have a drama performance/mummers show/skit?
Why did you have the show?
For how many years have you had the mummers?
Did you have the same characters each time?
Who was responsible for the drama performance/mummers' show/skit?
How did you decide on what to perform and how?
Who were the actors?
Where did you get the costumes?

Would you like to have more people on your Malanka? Why?
Did you have a lottery? Did you sell liquor and clock-room ruffle tickets?
Did you usually sell all your tickets?
Did you make a profit? How important is the profit?
How did you use the profit?
If the profit drops do you think that something goes wrong?
If you have no profit would you continue to organize the event?
Did the ticket price stay the same over few last years?
Did you advertise your Malanka? How did you do that?

Did you get feedback from the guests, whether they liked it or not?

How did people's reaction influence organization of this year Malanka?

Do you have the same guests coming year after year?

How would you describe the guests/audience? (age, occupation, ethnicity)

How did the guests dress?

Who provided food?

What kind of food was served?

Did you hire a band? Do you have the same band playing year after year?

How did you choose musicians?

Which bands have you hired in the past?

What kind of music do you expect for Malanka?

How much of volunteer work do you use?

Do you record your celebration (video, photo)? Why?

Have you ever been to other Malanka celerations? What was different there?

How important is Malanka celebration for you? Why?

What other events of this kind (celebrations/performances/shows) do you organize?

Appendix D: Table of Activities – Malanka celebrations in Edmonton.

	Choir/ Singing	Ukrainian Dance	Skit	Social Dance	Games and Rituals
Hromada	Informal amateur concert; singing carols while burning *didukh*	---	---	---	Burning didukh, leaping over fire, singing carols, wax fortune-telling
Longriders Saloon	---	10 min/ 3 dances (young adults)/ 16 dancers/ Hopak	---	Couple dances - mostly seniors	Midnight countdown, guests formed a circle
Na Zdorovya	---	---	---	Couple dances	Midnight countdown
Royal Purple	---	---	---	Couple dances	---
St. Andrew's	Informal singing of carols by guests at the tables	8 min/ 12 dancers (juniors)/ Hutsul dance	15 min/ 20 actors/ English	Couple dance	Ritual sowing; bread and salt; hospodar
St. John's	Choir: 30 min/ 12 carols (some 2 times)/ approx. 12 singers	---	10 min/ 15 actors/ English	Mostly couple dances; a circle dance, kolomyika	Bread and salt; prayers
Ukrainian Centre	Orchestra and choir: 15 min/ 8 songs	13 min/ 2 dances/ 12 dancers/ (young adults) Hopak, Moldavian	---	Mostly couple dances; a "spiral" circle dance; kolomyika	A game with broom and roll; lottery
Ukrainian National Federation	---	---	10 min/ 5 actors/ Ukrainian	Mostly couple dances;	Lottery, ticket measuring
Ukrainian Youth Association	Choir: 10 min/ 4 carols/ 18 singers	7 min/ 1 dance/ 23 dancers (young adults)/ Hopak	17 min/ 9 actors/ English and Ukrainian	Mostly couple dances, western pop music; kolomyika	Lottery, midnight countdown
West Edmonton Mall	Concert program - carols	Two-day concert: More than 20 dances / Hopak, Hutsul dance	---	---	---